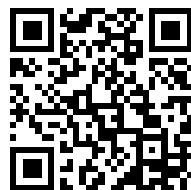

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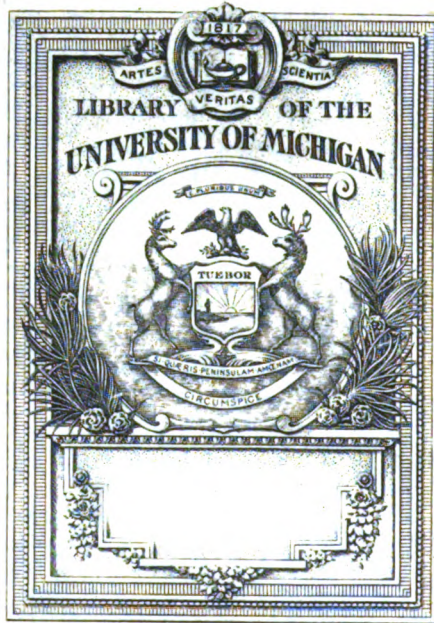
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CHATEAUBRIAND
AND
ENGLISH LITERATURE

Univ
THE JOHNS HOPKINS STUDIES IN ROMANCE LITERATURES
AND LANGUAGES

VOLUME IV

CHATEAUBRIAND
AND
ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY

META HELENA MILLER

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES
NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE FOR WOMEN



THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

LES PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES
DE FRANCE, PARIS

1925

To my mother and father.

General
Romance Languages
Direct.
3-12-26
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INTRODUCTION

Throughout the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century there was so little intercourse between England and France that little was known in France of the literature of England. In the seventeenth century England was « suspecte par sa religion et odieuse par sa politique » (Texte, *J. J. Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire*, p. 3). Frenchmen traveled little ; to England, hardly at all except in cases of necessity. The same ignorance of English literature prevailed in this century as in preceding times. With the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the last quarter of the great Classical age of French Literature came the first important contact between the two countries. In 1685 there began to flow across the channel a stream of Protestant refugees who were to be followed later by men of letters and still later by the « émigrés ». Among the great numbers of French people who sought refuge in England in the seventeenth century there were none who were vastly gifted. All were persons of mediocre talent, but many were remarkable because of their deep interest in the political freedom of their neighbors, in their philosophy, and, to a lesser degree, in their literature. A number began to publish journals in which they aimed to set before the French public the good parts of the English people, their country's government and their philo-

sophy and literature. Intelligent, but lacking the spark of genius, these men contented themselves with criticism and propaganda of this kind and with occasional translations and extracts of English works. Of the scores of faithful scribes engaged in this work only two now deserve mention, l'abbé Dubos and Desfontaines, whose contributions began at the close of the century and continued until 1725. It was they who paved the way for their more illustrious successors.

Muralt, the first writer of eminence of the eighteenth century who crossed the Channel, is to be remembered for his *Lettres sur les Anglais et les Français...* which preceded the more famous *Lettres Anglaises*. L'Abbé Prévost paid two visits to England, one in 1728 and another, far more prolonged, in 1733. He is said by Texte (*J.-J. Rousseau*, p. 54) to have fallen under English influence more completely than any other writer of his century. To Prévost France is indebted for any number of treatises containing views on England, for translations of Richardson, and most of all for a journal, « Le Pour et le Contre », whose sole purpose it was to disseminate English ideas in France. It is Prévost who can be credited with firmly establishing the link between the two countries. Next in the group of talented writers who came between the refugees of the early part of the century and the « émigrés » of the end, is Voltaire. His importance lies, not in his translation of portions of Shakespeare, but in his enthusiasm for England, which roused in his readers a desire to know the land, its people, and its literature and eventually to imitate English works. In his *Lettres Anglaises*, he stated with « esprit, verve, cynisme quelques vérités éparses chez ses précurseurs » (Texte, *ibid.*, p. 68) thus inaugurating the wave of anglomania which spread over his native land. All preparations in the way of acquainting the

French public with the existence and merits of things English were now complete.

The stage was all set for the entrance of the principal character, Rousseau, whose rôle it was to make the best qualities of the English genius part and parcel of the French genius. Rousseau admired tremendously the literary works which dealt with the middle class, Richardson's novels and the like. He also reveled in Thomson and Macpherson, whose general characteristics he continues. In his English predecessors he found a relative standard of taste similar to that which he advocated, instead of the fixed standard of Classicism. He also found in their works sentiment, melancholy, and lyricism akin to his own. To these he gave more truly poetic expression and thus surpassed his predecessors in England and France. Diderot, for a time an intimate friend of Rousseau, as leader of the « anglomanes » in France, is said to have been the most curious of all the eighteenth century writers about foreign literatures and especially about English (Texte, *op. cit.*, p. 134). In Paris he was constantly surrounded by Englishmen of note, now beginning to come to France. These successive periods in the history of this movement in French literature have been the object of numerous studies since Joseph Texte wrote his *J. J. Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire* (1).

(1) COLLINS, J. C., *Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau in England*, London, E. Nash, 1908.

CRU, Robert, L., *Diderot as a disciple of English thought*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1913.

DARGAN, E. P., « Shakespeare and Ducis » in *Modern Philology*, October, 1912.

DEDIEU, Joseph, *Montesquieu et la tradition politique anglaise en France. Les sources anglaises de « l'esprit des lois »*, Paris, 1909.

HAVENS, George R., *The abbé Prévost and English literature*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1921.

The same thing cannot, however, be said of the period of the Revolution, of which no adequate record has been kept. The latest account of the literary history of this period is the work of M. Baldensperger (1) which gives us sufficient information for our own particular study. It is a well known fact that the Revolution gave a decided impetus to the vogue for things English prevalent in France for half a century. From 1789-1814 France was cut off officially from all the other countries of Europe. Because of this state of affairs, many of the aristocrats as well as the élite of literary circles were forced to flee from their native country across the Channel. The same effect was produced as in the previous century. Many of the « émigrés » came with the idea of safety foremost in their minds. Necessity first compelled them to learn the language of the country in which they were living. Once initiated into the language, they proceeded from curiosity. One group of cultured Frenchmen, consisting of Montlosier, Lally-Tollendal, Rivarol, de Jancourt, de Panat, and Mallet du Pan, had London as its headquarters. Included in this number were also two men who claimed the authorship of some very creditable

JUSSERAND, J. A., *Shakespeare in France under the ancien régime*, London, T. F. Unwin, 1899.

LOUNSBURY, THOS. R., *Shakespeare and Voltaire*, N. Y., C. Scribner's Sons, 1902.

TELLEEN, John Martin, *Milton dans la littérature française*, Paris, Hachette, 1904.

TEXTE, J., *J.J. Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire*, Paris, Hachette, 1895.

VAN TIEGHEM, P., *La poésie de la nuit et des tombeaux en Europe au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, Rieder, 1921.

VAN TIEGHEM, P., *Le préromantisme*, Paris, Rieder, 1924.

VAN TIEGHEM, P., *Ossian en France*, Paris, Rieder, 1917.

1. Chateaubriand et l'émigration française à Londres, R. H. L., 1907, and *Etudes d'histoire littéraire*, Paris, Hachette, 1907-1910; *Le mouvement des idées dans l'émigration française*, Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1924.

verse, namely, Fontanes and Delille. Malouet entertained the assembled members of the « émigration » with tales of the colonies in which he had lived. But it was Peltier about whom this group was centered, in as much as he was their source of information about France. In that capacity he published a *Journal* which had the additional purpose of keeping the French public informed of the literary affairs of his fellow exiles. Dulau, another member of their group, was their publisher and book-dealer « par excellence ».

One person, however, outshone them all by his natural gifts, Chateaubriand. He was more fortunate than the rest of his companions in exile in having had previous acquaintance with the language and the literature of England in his youth. English had been included in his studies when he first went to school at Dol ; and English continued to have some part in his education, either as a formal study or as reading. Through his reading in the years of leisure spent at Combourg with his sister Lucile and in the succeeding years of military duties that were not too onerous he continued to become more and more at home in the realm of English literature. During these years he read what all France was reading, the novels of Richardson, the poems of Macpherson, Thomson, Gray, Young, and Shakespeare. He also read travellers' accounts of their voyages to the new world, which whetted his desire to follow in their footsteps. With that end in view, after many consultations with M. Malesherbes, who, also, was curious about America, he set out in July, 1791. On the boat in which he crossed the Atlantic he met a young Englishman, Tulloch by name, from whom he derived a greater knowledge of the works of Ossian and a greater appreciation of them. Arrived in America, Chateaubriand moved about among the English speaking people as well as among the Indians,

gathering countless impressions and quantities of material for his work. Hurriedly recalled to his native land, he took part in the military engagements of the Royalist army and, when that loyal body suffered defeat, he fled to Jersey and in the end to England. Chateaubriand was, therefore, undoubtedly better prepared than any of his fellow « émigrés » to understand and appreciate the English and their literature.

Compelled to stay in England for about eight years, he had ample time to learn much through conversation about the great English writers. At first he did not avail himself of this opportunity, but associated only with the wretchedly poor members of the « Emigration ». As a result of the efforts of Peltier, however, he had the pleasure of knowing the Rev. Bence Sparrow, the Rev. Mr. Ives, the friends of these two clergymen, and, more important still, the daughter of Mr. Ives. The Frenchman's more than disinterested friendship for Charlotte Ives added much to his knowledge of her language. He also read much, pursuing his acquaintance with Shakespeare, Gray, Richardson, coming to know Milton, the *Mahabarata*, and the two *Eddas*, devouring eagerly the works of all the imitators of Macpherson. These he read purely and simply for pleasure, but he consulted books of travel, histories, philosophies, with a view to using them at once in the studies he was in the act of writing. Some of these English works were merely sources of information for our author. In this connection he occasionally quoted from the original, from Ossian or Gray, for example. He imitated Gray in 1796 in an elegy known as *Les Tombeaux champêtres*. He commented on or criticized all these writers in his *Essai sur les Révolutions*. On the other hand he would at times translate from Imlay and Carver in *Le Voyage en Amérique*, from Bartram and Casteby in *Les Natchez*.

from Smith. Translations « per se » were also undertaken at this time, of Milton in a small way, and of Smith in a fairly large way. Definite traces of influence in these, Chateaubriand's works, begun or completed in England, will be considered in the course of our study. Contact with England did not cease with the author's return to France in 1800 ; for in 1822 he returned as ambassador and resumed his acquaintance with some of his former friends. It was at that time that he wrote those of his *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* which deal with his previous stay in England. His study of English works continued, as is shown by his *Génie du christianisme*, *Les Martyrs*, and finally, by his *Essai sur la littérature anglaise* and his completed translation of *Paradise Lost*.

The contact with England is certain. The influence, on the other hand, has not up to the present moment been studied in detail. All critics have stated the fact that there was English influence. Ossian's influence on Chateaubriand has been studied most recently by M. Van Tieghem, who has concluded, and rightly, that in *Les Martyrs* and *Les Natchez* it lies in the general atmosphere. Though he arrives at correct conclusions, M. Van Tieghem's work is not detailed, because this subject is not strictly speaking his own. M. Dick (1), M. Köhler (2), Roberts (3), and Telleen (4) have dwelt

1. « Chateaubriands Verhaeltnis zu Milton » *Festschrift zum 14 Neuphilologentage in Zurich*, Zurich, Zuercher & Furrer, 1910.

2. *Quellen untersuchung zu Chateaubriands « Les Martyrs »*, Inaugural dissertation, Universität Leipzig, 1913.

3. « Chateaubriand et Milton », *Modern Language Review*, 1910.
« Quelques sources anglaises de Chateaubriand », *R. H. L.*, 1910.

4. *Milton dans la littérature française*. Thèse de doctorat d'université présentée à la faculté des lettres à Paris. Paris, Hachette, 1914.

more particularly upon the influence of Milton on Chateaubriand.

Of all these discussions of Milton's influence, M. Dick's is the most extensive, but although he has pointed out many interesting borrowings from Chateaubriand, his work contains occasional mistakes, is not complete, and, worst of all, his attitude towards Chateaubriand is far from being sympathetic. Borrowings, reminiscences, and imitations are classified under the too simple heading of « plagiats » and his study is too often a violent personal attack upon the writer of the *Génie du Christianisme*.

To what extent, then, did Chateaubriand know and appreciate English literature, to what extent was he subject to its influence, and did he find in it inspiration ? This is the subject of our study (1).

(1) The writer wishes to acknowledge her grateful appreciation of the interest in her success shown by M. Chinard, without whose constant guidance and assistance she would not have been able to undertake or to complete this study. She is indebted to Dr. Lancaster for his ever-ready spirit of helpfulness and his many valuable suggestions.

CHATEAUBRIAND AND ENGLISH LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

Before studying the English sources of some of Chateaubriand's works, we have attempted to ascertain Chateaubriand's knowledge of English literature and of the English language in his youth and that acquired later in life from his trip to America and finally from his exile in England.

LA PREMIÈRE JEUNESSE

Even before Chateaubriand regularly attended a school, it was decided that he was to study the English language (*M. d'O.-T.*, I, p. 47). « Quelques notions de dessin, de *langue anglaise*, d'hydrographie et de mathématiques, parurent plus que suffisantes à l'éducation d'un garçonnet destiné d'avance à la rude vie d'un marin ». Later, when it was time for him to go away to school, his mother planned to send him to the « collège de Dol » where English was to be one of his studies (*M. d'O.-T.*, I, p. 65). « Elle proposa donc de me mettre dans un collège où j'apprendrais les mathématiques, le dessin, les armes et la langue anglaise ». In June, 1777, he set out for Dol, where he stayed until 1781, studying those subjects prescribed by his father and mother in addition to the classics, which were soon his favorite subjects and remained so until 1784. On his return to Combourg,

according to M. Giraud (*Nouvelles études sur Chateaubriand*, p. 42, note 2), he found his sisters reading *Clarisse* and probably followed their lead. Chateaubriand himself adds *Ossian* to the list of books read by him at this period (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 208). « Je reconnais que dans ma première jeunesse *Ossian*, *Werther*, les *Rêveries du promeneur solitaire*, les études de la nature ont pu s'apparenter à mes idées ». He tells us of his knowledge of *Ossian* in a letter to Fontanes (*Correspondance Générale*, I, p. 34, December 22, 1800) : « Enthousiaste d'*Ossian* comme un jeune homme que j'étais alors, il m'a fallu passer plusieurs années à Londres parmi les gens de lettres pour être entièrement désabusé ». M. Van Tieghem (*Ossian en France*, II, p. 183) makes the date of this reading still earlier by saying he read *Ossian* « probablement dans *Le Tourneur* et peu de temps après l'apparition [1777] de cette traduction ».

At the end of two years spent in reading and idleness, he thought of going to America or India, but, changing his mind, accepted a commission in the French army. As his military duties from 1786 to 1791 were but few, he again spent much of his time at his books. Of Chateaubriand's occupation during this period M. Giraud says (*Nouvelles études sur Chateaubriand*, p. 53) : « Assurément aussi il complète ses lectures d'œuvres étrangères s'il connaissait déjà ce qui me paraît probable, *Ossian* et *Werther*, *Richardson*, et *Shakespeare*, il découvre *Thomson* et *Gray*, *Young* et *Gessner* ». Later, in 1791 in contemplating a trip to America, Chateaubriand read with his friend M. Malesherbes tales of different English travelers and navigators. From the preceding data we may conclude that at the time of his departure for America in the same year, Chateaubriand was acquainted with certain English literary works, but had no speaking knowledge of the language. How was he going to increase his knowledge of the language and literature by his journey to America ? This question will now be considered.

LE VOYAGE EN AMÉRIQUE

On his way to America in 1791, Chateaubriand met and became the comrade of Tulloch, a young Englishman (1) endowed with imagination and « épris de la nature » (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 604, note). On the island of St. Pierre off the coast of Newfoundland « T. s'imaginait être le barde de Cona ; et en sa qualité de demi-Ecossais, il se mettait à déclamer des passages d'Ossian, pour lesquels il improvisait des airs sauvages » (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 604, note). Of this same time Chateaubriand also writes : « Je me souviens que nous [T. et lui] passâmes toute une après-dinée à élever quatre grosses pierres en mémoire d'un malheureux célébré dans un petit épisode à la manière d'Ossian » (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 605, note).

Upon his arrival in America, Chateaubriand proceeded at once to Philadelphia to see the president of the new republic (2). Chateaubriand speaks as follows concerning

1. In his *Mémoires* (I, p. 333 ff.) Chateaubriand adds : « F. T. avait servi dans l'artillerie ; peintre, musicien, mathématicien, il parlait plusieurs langues. L'abbé Nagot, supérieur des Sulpiciens, ayant rencontré l'officier anglican, en fit un catholique : il emmenait son néophyte à Baltimore.

Je m'accoutai avec T. : comme j'étais alors profond philosophe, je l'invitais à revenir chez ses parents. Le spectacle que nous avions sous les yeux le transportait d'admiration. Nous nous levions la nuit, lorsque le pont était abandonné à l'officier de quart et à quelques matelots qui fumaient leur pipe en silence... » Together with Tulloch he was chosen by the captain to go ashore, when their vessel was compelled to stop off the Azores. In the *Mémoires* (I, p. 353), Chateaubriand concludes the Tulloch episode by saying that he had received a letter, which he quotes, from F. T. bearing the date of April 12, 1822. In this letter he recalls their voyage to America and the friendship formed at that time. Tulloch had not become a priest, but had married and was living in London when Chateaubriand returned to that town as ambassador.

2. Though M. Bédier doubts the actual occurrence of this visit, Miss Armstrong has proved it in « Chateaubriand's America » *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. 22, New series 15, 1907).

this interview : (*M. d'O.-T.*, I, p. 357 ff.) « Je lui présentai ma lettre [a letter of introduction from the marquis de la Rouerie] en silence ; il l'ouvrit, courut à la signature qu'il lut tout haut avec exclamation : 'Le colonel Armand !' C'est ainsi qu'il l'appelait et qu'avait signé le marquis de la Rouerie.

Nous nous assîmes. Je lui expliquai tant bien que mal le motif de mon voyage. Il me répondait par monosyllabes anglais et français, et m'écoutait avec une sorte d'étonnement ; je m'en aperçus, et je lui dis avec un peu de vivacité : « Mais il est moins difficile de découvrir le passage du nord-ouest que de créer un peuple comme vous l'avez fait. Well, well, young man ! Bien, bien, jeune homme, s'écria-t-il en me tendant la main. Il m'invita à dîner pour le jour suivant, et nous nous quittâmes ». This is the author's account of the conversation. M. Chinard in *L'exotisme américain dans l'œuvre de Chateaubriand* (p. 46-7) has shown that the very banality of Washington's words proves their authenticity, « mais il est très probable que la conversation entre les deux interlocuteurs en resta là ». This episode then, does not prove anything as far as Chateaubriand's knowledge of English is concerned.

From Philadelphia Chateaubriand went to New York and thence by boat to Albany. On the way he seems to have mingled with his fellow passengers. He gives his impression of the journey in his *Mémoires* (I, p. 367-8 ; cf. also *E. L. A.*, p. 209, note 3). In Albany, he sought out a certain dealer in furs by the name of Swift, to whom he had a letter of introduction. Swift discouraged him in his desire to discover a passage to the north west but secured for him a guide who was to take him as far as Niagara. It was probably in the neighborhood of Niagara that Chateaubriand fell in with the sachem of the Onandagas with whom conversation was easy because the sachem spoke English and understood French (*M. d'O.-T.*, I, p. 378).

The discussion just completed leads us to conclude

that Chateaubriand had added considerably to his knowledge of Ossian and had acquired some ability to speak the English language as a result of his stay in America, which had been shortened by the news of the fall of the monarchy. As a loyal adherent to the royalist party, he hastened home in December, 1791, to resume his duties in the king's army. But when this army was defeated and Chateaubriand was recovering from illness contracted during his service, he made his way to Jersey and thence, by means of a small loan from his uncle, to England.

L'EXIL A LONDRES

At first, Chateaubriand was thrown constantly into the companionship of the poor « émigrés ». Soon without funds, he planned to write an historical essay in order to earn a living. Peltier, a more fortunate fellow-countryman, encouraged him in this endeavor and arranged for publication with Baylis. It was the publisher who loaned the poor « émigré » some books for the preparation of this work (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 114). Other books he bought. He spent much of his leisure time with Hingant, who also « cultivait les lettres » (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 114), walking to Westminster or Kensington and discussing politics and Chateaubriand's work. As the writing of this « essai » was a slow affair, there followed a period of great poverty in a garret off Mary-le-Bone street. In the *Mémoires* (II, p. 123) he says : « Nous tenions des conseils dans notre chambre haute, nous raisonnions sur la politique, nous nous occupions des cancanes de l'émigration. Le soir, nous allions chez nos tantes et cousines danser, après les modes enrubanées et les chapeaux faits ». M. Baldensperger adds the names of Milton and Shakespeare to the subjects discussed at these evening gatherings (« Chateaubriand et l'émigration française à Londres », *R. H. L.*, 1907, p. 600). On the evenings spent alone, « le malheureux », to whom a chapter of

the *Essai sur les Révolutions* is devoted, and whom M. Le Braz (*Au pays d'exil de Chateaubriand*, p. 100-1) takes to be Chateaubriand himself, « s'attendrit sur les maux imaginaires des Clarisse, des Clémentine, des Héloïse, des Cécilia ». Finally, at the end of his resources, Chateaubriand was rescued by Peltier who, he says (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 125), « avait lu dans un journal de Yarmouth qu'une Société d'Antiquaires (1) s'allait occuper d'une histoire du comté de Suffolk, et qu'on demandait un Français capable de déchiffrer des manuscrits français du XII^e siècle, de la collection de Camden. Le *parson*, ou ministre, de Beccles était à la tête de l'entreprise, c'était à lui qu'il se fallait adresser..... je partis pour Beccles avec quelque argent que me prêta Deboffe, sur l'assurance de ma reprise de l'*Essai*. Je changeai mon nom, qu'aucun Anglais ne pouvait prononcer, en celui de *Combours* qu'avait porté mon frère... Descendu à l'auberge, je présentai au ministre du lieu une lettre de Deboffe, fort estimé dans la librairie anglaise, laquelle lettre me recommandait comme un savant du premier ordre. Parfaitement accueilli, je vis tous les gentlemen du canton, et je rencontrai deux officiers de notre marine royale qui donnaient des leçons de français dans le voisinage.

Je repris des forces ; les courses que je faisais à cheval me rendirent un peu de santé..... M. de Combours était invité à toutes les parties. Je dus à l'étude le premier adoucissement de mon sort... Les femmes étaient charmées de rencontrer un Français pour parler français ». This is what Chateaubriand says himself of his departure to Beccles. M. Le Braz in his book entitled *Au pays d'exil de Chateaubriand* has shown that Chateaubriand came to Suffolk, not to collect material for the history of Suffolk, but to teach at Brightley's School and at The Fauconberge School (p. 35 ff.). Evidence of this occupation is found, M. Le Braz points out, in an English

1. M. Le Braz has proved the fictitious character of this society.

letter written by Chateaubriand (*Correspondance Générale*, I, p. 67). The letter, which is fairly well written, is the only proof that we have for the statement (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 138): « J'écrivais en anglais et mes idées commençaient à se former en anglais dans ma tête ».

The parson who was directing the Antiquarian society, as Chateaubriand says above, is none other than the Rev. Bence Sparrow who, according to M. Le Braz, held no such position. However, he was most cordial to Chateaubriand and sent him pupils including his own children and many of the prominent persons in the county (Le Braz, pp. 42-3). No wonder then that we find Chateaubriand in Bungay, a little town only four miles away from Beccles, at the home of the Rev. Mr. Ives. Here he had ample opportunity to hear English and to learn it (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 134-6). Mr. Ives discussed America, Newton, and Homer with the young Frenchman. Still more did he gain from his conversations with Charlotte Ives, with whom he had fallen in love (1). In the *Mémoires* (II, p. 134) he says : « la 'young lady' me questionnait sur la France, sur la littérature ; elle me demandait des plans d'études ; elle désirait particulièrement connaître les auteurs italiens, et me pria de lui donner quelques notes sur la *Divina Commedia* et la *Gerusalemme* ». These plans were evidently forthcoming, for Charlotte returned to Chateaubriand in 1822 « un paquet qui ne contenait », he says (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 145), « que des billets de moi insignifiants et un plan d'études avec des remarques sur les poètes anglais et italiens ». The only writing in Charlotte's own hand consisted of « quelques notes anglaises, françaises et latines, dont l'encre vieillie et la jeune écriture témoignaient qu'elles étaient depuis longtemps déposées sur ces marges ». As the result of a fall from his horse, Chateaubriand was compelled to stay at the Ives home for some time and so probably

1. Cf. CHINARD, « Chateaubriand et Mrs. Sutton : L'Epilogue d'un roman d'amour », *Modern Language Notes*, April, 1922.

profited much in the way of learning English. During this period of recuperation the love-affair with Charlotte reached a point where the family expected Chateaubriand to ask permission to marry the daughter. Supposing that timidity was holding him back, Mrs. Ives opened the subject, when Chateaubriand confessed that he was married. He then returned in haste to London.

Since his friend and companion Hingant was no longer there, Chateaubriand's walks were more lonely. Because of this loneliness, he resumed work on his « *essai* ». He writes (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 149) : « je repris mon travail [the writing of the *Essai sur les Révolutions*] au milieu de mes chagrins et des justes reproches que je me faisais. Je m'accommodais même de ce travail, car il m'était venu en pensée qu'en acquérant du renom, je rendrais la famille Ives moins repentante de l'intérêt qu'elle m'avait témoigné ». The *Essai* was completed in part in 1797 and « fit du bruit dans l'émigration » (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 152). « Etant devenu presque un personnage, la haute émigration me rechercha à Londres » (*ibid.*, p. 153); he continues..... « alors m'éloignant derechef du canton de la colonie de la pauvre émigration de l'est j'arrivai, de logement en logement, jusqu'au quartier de la riche émigration de l'ouest, parmi les évêques, les familles de cour et les colons de la Martinique ». Peltier turned up again in this circle, where Chateaubriand made new acquaintances including Christian de Lamoignon, M^{me} Lindsay, l'abbé Delille, other church dignitaries, and M. de Fontanes. It was Fontanes who often entertained the exiles with his poems, especially with *la Grèce sauvée*. Cléry, « valet de chambre » of Louis XVI, read to them his *Mémoires* (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 167). With Fontanes, Chateaubriand walked about London and the outskirts of the city, often dining at Chelsea and talking of Shakespeare and Milton (*ibid.*, p. 172). In frequent intercourse with these personages and in writing he spent the remainder of his time in England until his return to his native land in 1800.

Evidence of English influence more lasting than that derived from such social gatherings and visits is found in those works of Chateaubriand which were completed or begun in England, of which *Le Voyage en Amérique*, a part of the famous Natchez manuscript, is the first. In this work, Chateaubriand himself notes that he has included « quelques extraits des voyages de Bartram que j'avais traduits avec assez de soin » (Chinard, « Chateaubriand en Amérique », *University of California Publications, Modern Philology*, Vol. IV, 1915, p. 297). Chateaubriand has, however, used other works; for M. Chinard has proved that Imlay, *A Topographical Description of Western Territory of North America*, was Chateaubriand's principal source for that part of his « essai » dealing with the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and the surrounding country (Chinard, « Chateaubriand en Amérique », p. 341). An additional source of the *Voyage*, Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, is mentioned by M. Chinard (« Chateaubriand en Amérique », p. 298, note 12), who continues with the statement : « Il est d'ailleurs très possible que Chateaubriand ait consulté directement le texte anglais ». These three English books, then, were known to Chateaubriand.

By studying the *Voyage* and its sources published in parallel columns in M. Chinard's above mentioned work, we may conclude that Chateaubriand seldom made an exact translation of his English authority. He has generally given concisely, sometimes in the form of a résumé, all the material included in the English. In the majority of instances the dimensions given by Chateaubriand are the same as those in his sources. The differences here, and in names, would point to a possible lapse of time between the careful reading of the English and the writing of the *Voyage*. M. Chinard has designated in a foot-note, « Chateaubriand en Amérique », p. 316, note 7, Chateaubriand's misunderstanding of the term buffalo grass, and his inexact translation of *rye grass* and *clover*.

Similar is the use of « crabes » in the translation of *craw-fish* (Chinard, « Chateaubriand en Amérique », p. 331). On the whole, however, Chateaubriand understood fairly thoroughly, Bartram's, Imlay's, and Carver's works which he used.

In *Les Natchez*, another part of the Natchez manuscript, which was composed in its entirety during the author's exile in England, Chateaubriand has used, as M. Chinard has shown (Chinard, « Chateaubriand ' Les Natchez ' L. I & II », p. 205) not only these English works as sources but also Marc Casteby (1), *Histoire naturelle de la Caroline de la Floride et des Iles Bahamas* (2 vols., London, 1731), and Bartram, *Travels thru North and South Carolina*, Philadelphia, 1791.

Indeed, in *Les Natchez*, the influence extends beyond the use of an English source to the very language of the author. M. Chinard mentions a possible anglicism, the use of « plus longtemps », the English comparative, instead of « le plus longtemps » (« Chateaubriand, ' Les Natchez ' », p. 221, note 20,) « plus loin de jeunes garçons, les bras attachés ensemble s'essayaient à qui supporterait plus longtemps l'ardeur d'un charbon enflammé ») . Chateaubriand himself acknowledges the presence of « hellénismes, latinismes et anglicismes qui fourmillent dans l'Essai », which was written during his exile and published in London in 1797 (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, Avertissement de l'auteur pour l'édition de 1826, p. 239). In the notes to this work (*ibid.*, p. 356, note b and p. 472, note a), he points out certain specific « idiotismes étrangers », explanation of which follows in the author's words (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 238) : « J'en [de l'Angleterre] avais pris les habitudes..... J'étais Anglais de manières, de goût et jusqu'à un certain point, de pensées ». Writing and speaking English are mentioned (*ibid.*, p. 238), « une longue habitude de parler, d'écrire et même de

1. This is published in French with the English translation in parallel columns.

penser en anglais ». In the *Avertissement* of his *Essai sur la littérature anglaise*, p. 3, published in 1867, he goes still farther and says he believes he knows as much of English as any one can of a foreign language. This claim, as well as the examples of anglicisms, are interesting because they indicate a certain familiarity with the language, but no mastery of it.

In preparation for the writing of this historical essay Chateaubriand writes (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 182), « Comme une étude mène à une autre, je ne pouvais m'occuper de mes scolies françaises sans *tenir note de la littérature et des hommes du pays au milieu duquel je vivais* : je fus entraîné dans ces autres recherches. *Mes jours et mes nuits se passaient à lire, à écrire... à consulter les bibliothèques et les gens instruits* ». Ossian must have been included in this reading, for we find Ossian used as a reference in his discussion of the Celts in the *Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 382, note, and again, p. 574, in a discussion of the conversion of the « barbares ». In the last instance Chateaubriand has stated the various elements of the Ossianic landscape. In another note, (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 605), of the same work (*cf. above* p. 3, for content of the note) the following line from the death of Cuthullin [Ossian] is quoted : « t'was like the memory of joys that are past, pleasing and mournful to the soul ». It is of interest to note that this same line, included in a longer English passage, is found in the *Génie* (4^e part., L. II, chap. iv, *cf. Van Tieghem*, II, p. 195). He was attracted not only to Ossian, but also to his imitators. The *Préface* to his *Poèmes traduits du gallique en anglais* (in *Essai sur la littérature anglaise*, p. 697) contains this statement : « Je lus avec avidité une foule de poèmes inconnus en France », which were imitations of Macpherson. He also reports that he translated the works of one of these imitators, a certain John Smith. The only other mention made by Chateaubriand of this Smith in the *Essai sur les Révolutions* occurs in a foot-note to the chapter on « Conversion des

Barbares », in which the authenticity of Ossian is discussed and where it is stated that the collection of « le ministre Smith » contains the Celtic alongside of the supposed English translation. During Chateaubriand's stay in England, Smith proposed to publish an edition of the original Ossianic poems. This edition, however, never appeared. In the same note (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 574) Chateaubriand offers the following criticism of a part of Smith's work: « On trouve un chant sur la mort de Gaul où il y a des choses extrêmement touchantes particulièrement Gaul expirant de besoin sur un rivage désert, et nourri du lait de son épouse ».

A translation of this poem and of two others, *Dargo* and *Dulhona*, is bound with the *Essai* (pp. 699 ff.). From a comparison of Part I of the original *Dargo* (Smith, *Galic Antiquities*) and of Chateaubriand's translation the following conclusions have been drawn. In many ways the French translation is a résumé of the English. There are many omissions, some of which are personifications, others details characteristic of the epic, which might not conform to the French ideas of « bienséance », as for instance, Smith, p. 140, « Her blood was mixt with the oozy foam ». The translator, moreover, confesses in his preface (*E. L. A.*, p. 697): « J'ai fait disparaître les redites et les obscurités du texte anglais ». Frequently comparisons, characteristic of this kind of poetry, are omitted in the translation, which thereby loses the picturesqueness of the original. Occasionally changes that are made in the translation are happy. Smith, p. 142, « Carril wave thy sword of light » is rendered « Carril, que ton glaive rapide jette encore des ondes de lumière » (*E. L. A.*, p. 703). Again, Chateaubriand uses « paresseuse » for « scarce-moving ». More frequently, however, these changes show misunderstanding of the text. « They found her cold as a wreath of snow » (Smith, p. 139) becomes « affaissée comme un monceau de neige » (*E. L. A.*, p. 701); « nigh a spreading oak and murmuring brook » (Smith, p. 140) becomes « sous un chêne auprès d'un

torrent » (*E. L. A.*, p. 702 ; « his people, *with slow unequal steps*, departed » (Smith, p. 144) becomes « les guerriers de Lochlin *fuient* » (*E. L. A.*, p. 704). The French translation loses the ruggedness of the original. « *Stalk without fear, on the upland rock* » (Smith, p. 133-4), becomes « *passent avec lenteur sur la colline* » (*E. L. A.*, p. 699). There is in the French an occasional circumlocution, as for instance, « l'astre des nuits » for the moon. The names of two of the persons in the story have been changed ; Crimora has become Evella, Minvela, Mélina. The only additions to the English are made for the sake of « la clarté du sens ». In the English there is no indication of the interruption in a speech of Dargo (Smith, p. 135) except in the change of the subject discussed. Chateaubriand indicates this change by interpolating this short sentence (*E. L. A.*, p. 700). « Dargo s'interrompt tout à coup ». Still other additions have the same value. « 'It is the ghost of Dargo' said Comhal » (Smith, p. 135). « C'est l'ombre de Dargo qui gémit » (*E. L. A.*, p. 699-700). Though his translation is not entirely successful, Chateaubriand's study of Ossian and his imitators must have been thorough and the results lasting since Fontanes cited by Villemain (I, p. 87) said : « il faut le débarbouiller d'Ossian ».

Simultaneous with the translation of Ossian seems to have been the studying of Gray, for we find one quotation from *The Elegy in a Country Church-Yard* in the *Essai sur les Révolutions* (p. 315-316, note 1).

« Some mute inglorious Milton here may rest,
Some village Hampden. »

The opening line of this same poem is found quoted in the *Mémoires* (II, p. 218). In 1796 « Les tombeaux champêtres élogie imitée de Gray » (*Romans et poésies diverses* p. 567-570) by Chateaubriand appeared at London in the « journal de Peltier ».

Meditations on tombs recall Young's and Hervey's poems which Chateaubriand knew well. Indeed M. Van

Tieghem declares that Chateaubriand knew their theme of the dying Christian and drew inspiration from it for his discussion in the *Génie* (*La poésie de la nuit et des tombeaux*, p. 98). Young merely sketches vaguely the death of a good man, in M. Van Tieghem's opinion, whereas Hervey stresses all the terrifying and depressing aspects of the death of a just man. But neither one refers to any cult or alludes to any religious rites that accompany a Christian's death (*ibid.*, p. 96-97). To Chateaubriand falls the lot of adding all these charming and picturesque details and of portraying fully and faithfully the death of a Christian. M. Van Tieghem has apparently lost sight of the fact that neither Young, as an Episcopal chaplain, nor Hervey, as a follower of Wesley in his youth and later a confirmed Calvinist, had any reason to allude to such rites. Chateaubriand has merely described the death of a Catholic and in so doing has brought his marvelous imagination into play.

Of Milton, with whom he is so much concerned in his later *Essai* there is but little mention in the *Essai sur les Révolutions* (cf. a discussion of Milton, above, pp. 5,8) except as a man of politics instrumental in bringing about the death of Charles I. In « Milton et Davenant », a poem by Chateaubriand, written during his exile in 1797, we have occasional references to Milton the poet. Here Chateaubriand calls him « l'Homère chrétien » (Chateaubriand, *Romans et poésies diverses* : « Milton et Davenant », p. 574) and speaks of his inspiration in the following lines :

« Et puis de cette voix, de ce ton inspiré
Qui d'Ève raconte les amours ineffables »

The two poets, Milton and Davenant, recite their works to each other and so are « charmés de leurs talents divers ». Again, in a discussion of the *Icon* (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 519, note 1), reference is made to Milton's opinion of the authorship of this work. We may therefore conclude that Milton does not play half so large a

rôle as does Ossian in this part of Chateaubriand's life and study.

In the poem just quoted there is a little criticism of Davenant, one time poet laureate, but now almost forgotten. In the meeting of the two poets here described, Milton says to Davenant :

« Serais-tu ce mortel par les Muses nourri,
Qui dans les bois sacrés égarant sa jeunesse
Enchanta de ses vers les rives du Permesse ? »

Chateaubriand is apparently acquainted with the works of another English writer, Blair, whom, together with Goethe, he follows in accepting the authenticity of Ossian (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 574, and note 2). He also knows something of Old Scotch ballads about the manuscripts of which he speaks most learnedly (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 396-7, note 3). « J'ai aussi remarqué la même chose dans les vieilles ballades écossaises qui se déchiffrent plus facilement que l'anglais de la même période ». In this connection we might add Chateaubriand's statement about the Camden collection (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 180-1). « Les authentiques de Camden que je venais d'examiner m'avaient rendu familier avec les mœurs et les institutions du Moyen Age (1) ».

The only general comment that is made on English literature in the *Essai sur les Révolutions* (p. 318) is to the effect that the English are the first of the moderns to apply poetry to subjects useful to man. In the discussion of the authorship of the *Icon*, mentioned above, a discussion with which we introduce a series of more or less disconnected remarks, Chateaubriand shows that he knows the opinions of Milton, Burnet, and Hume on the subject and follows Hume in believing it to be the work of Charles I (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 519, note 1). The remaining comments on English writers concern their philosophical and historical works. He

1. This statement we must accept with a grain of salt when we consider Note 1 on p. 6 of this study.

discusses Butler (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 518, note), Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 545 ff., p. 516, note 1), and makes some mention of the anonymous pamphlets written at the time of Cromwell. In the *Essai*, we also find an examination of one of Chateaubriand's sources, Robertson's *Disquisition* (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 501, note 1).

It is in the study of such works as the last, if we judge by a detailed study of the *Essai sur les Révolutions*, that Chateaubriand spent much of his time during his exile. There are four classes of works use of which he has stated in the body or foot-notes of this essay. The first group, tales of travel of particular interest to the young « émigré », includes works by Smollett, Moore, Cook, Koben, Bruce, on France, Switzerland, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Nile (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 313, note 6 ; *ibid.*, p. 337, note 2 ; pp. 373-376 ; p. 415 ; p. 396, note 1 ; p. 279, note 8 ; p. 278, note 1, respectively). A number of passages from Cook's *Voyages* are translated at length in the *Essai sur les Révolutions*. In the library of John Ives, who was interested in America, states M. Le Braz (*Au pays d'exil de Chateaubriand*, p. 146), Chateaubriand probably studied carefully the American journeys of Carver and Bartram. The second group includes histories of America and England and her possessions. Here are found such names as Wilkins, Robertson, Hyde, Halhed, Gibbon (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 416 ; p. 278, note 4 ; p. 351, note 8 ; p. 573, note 2 ; p. 580, note 2 ; p. 410, note 4 ; p. 415, note 2, and *** ; p. 573 and note 1). Hume's *History of England* and Smollett's continuation of it are frequently used by Chateaubriand (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 361, note 5, 9 ; and 362, note 1 ; p. 430, note 2 ; p. 560, note 1 ; p. 575, note 2). In his chapter on some philosophic objections to Christianity we find that Chateaubriand makes use of Hume's *Philosophical Essay* and Toland's works (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, p. 588 and note 1).

In addition to these sources of information Chateaubriand found still others. It is through an English translation by Wilkins that Chateaubriand seems to have gained some knowledge of the *Mahabarata* quoted in part in French in the chapter on « Les arts en Perse et en Allemagne » in the *Essai sur les Révolutions*. As a result of his exile in England, either from an English version as in the case of the Indian epic, or from the original found there, Chateaubriand became acquainted with the two *Eddas*. This fact is not mentioned by M. Giraud who has studied his education thoroughly in *Nouvelles études sur Chateaubriand*. In the *Essai sur les Révolutions*, we find the exiled author using the two *Eddas* as sources (p. 279, note 7 ; p. 382, note 1 and note 6 ; and p. 574, note 1).

A list of the English authors and works known to Chateaubriand before 1800 follows. Sometimes he has given only the name of the author, again only the name of the work. Only once, in citing Wilkins, has he given the date of publication. This list gives the date of the first edition. Several works we have been unable to identify.

BACON. — *On the advancement of learning*, (presumably) Bacon, Francis. — *Two Bookes on the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, divine and humane*, London, 1605. — *Novum Organon Scientiarum*, 1620.

BARTRAM, Wm. — *Travels through North and South Carolina*, Philadelphia, 1791.

BLAIR, (presumably) Hugh. — *A critical dissertation on the poems of Ossian*, 1763. — *Lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres*, 1783.

BRUCE. — *Voyage aux sources du Nil*, (presumably) *Travels to discover the source of the Nile in the years 1768 to 1773*, Edinburgh, 1790.

BURNET, (presumably) Gilbert. — *History of his own time*, London, 1724-1734.

BUTLER. — *Hudibras* :) 1 st part, Richard Marriot, 1663.

) 2 nd part, John Martyn, 1664.

) 3 rd part, Simon Miller, 1678, ' 79.

CAMDEN. — *In Elizab.*, (presumably) Camden, Wm. — *Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha*, Lugd. Bat., 1628.

CARVER, J. — *Travels through the interior part of North America*, London, 1778.

CASTEBY, Marc. — *Histoire Naturelle de la Caroline, de la Floride et des Iles Bahamas*, London, 1737.

CLARKE, (presumably). — *A collection of papers which passed between the late learned M. Leibnitz and Dr. Clarke in the years 1715 and 1716. Relating to the principles of natural philosophy and religion*, London, 1717.

COKE. — *Letters on Switzerland*.

COOK, Capt. J. — *Third Voyage*, London, 1784.

D'ARBLAY, M^{me} Francis Burney. — *Cecilia, or Memoirs of an heiress*, London, 1782.

Detection of the Court.

Edda, (presumably) translation by A. S. Cottle, London, 1797. — Translation by T. Percy in *Northern Antiquities* from M. Mallet's Introduction to *l'Histoire de Dannemarc*, London, 1770.

General Justice.

GIBB. — *Rise and fall of the Roman Empire*, Gibbon, Edward. — *History of decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, London, 1776-88.

GRAY, (presumably) Thomas. — *Poems*, London, 1768.

GUTH. — *Geogr. Gram.*, (presumably) Guthrie, Wm. — *A geographical, historical, and commercial Grammar*, London, 1770.

HALHED. — *Grammar of the Bengal language*, Hoogly in Bengal, 1778.

HARRIS. — *Hermes*, (presumably) Harris, James. — *Hermes; or a philosophical Inquiry concerning Language and universal Grammar*, London, 1752.

HENRY. — *Hist. of Engl.*, (presumably) Henry, Robert. — *The History of Great Britain*, Edinburgh and London, 1771-93.

HOBBS. — *De Corpore Politico*, (presumably) in *Tripes*, London, 1684. — *De la Nature Humaine*, (presumably) *Of Humane Nature in Tripes*, London, 1684. — *Dissertation sur l'Homme*, (presumably) *De Homine*, 1656. — *Leviathan*, London, 1651.

- HUME. — *History of England*, London, 1761-2. — *Philosophical Essay*, Edinburgh, 1742.
- HYDE. — *Rel. Pers.*, (presumably) Hyde, Thomas. — *Veterum Persarum et Medorum Religionis*. Oxon. 1760.
- Icon Basilike, *The Portraiture of his sacred majesty King Charles I in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, 1648.
- IMLAY, Gilbert. — *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America*, London, 1792.
- KOBEN. — *Acc. of the C. Good Hope*, (presumably) Kolben, Peter. — *The present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, translated from the German by Mr. Medley, London, 1731.
- LOCKE, John. — *On human understanding*, London, 1690.
- MACPHERSON, James, (presumably). — *Fragments of ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language*, Edinburgh, 1760. — *Fingal*, an ancient epic Poem..., London, 1762. — *Temora*, an ancient epic Poem..., London, 1763.
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To summarize briefly, Chateaubriand first came in contact with England when as a boy he began his studies, which included, as we have seen, English. This acquaintance through books continued as his education progressed. Owing to his friendship with M. Malesherbes,

the youth became interested in books of travel and especially in those which dealt with America. We are not surprised to find this burning interest in the new world take more definite shape in a journey to it. In the course of his travels, through his friendship with a talented Englishman, Chateaubriand increased his knowledge of one of the English poets whom he had already read, namely Ossian. His experience with the language was broadened because of his encounters with English speaking persons in America. Through social intercourse in England, however, he profited most largely; for there, in his teaching, in his conversations with the gentlemen of Suffolk, and still more through his affair with Miss Ives he acquired greater understanding of the language. The subjects of many of his conversations were the English authors whom he was reading and studying in preparation for the writing of his *Voyage, Les Natchez*, and *L'Essai sur les Révolutions*. The last mentioned work, the only one completed and published in England, necessitated some knowledge of English works on history and philosophy. By means of English translations Chateaubriand was enabled to study Norse and Hindu literatures.

Through Wilkins he had learned to know the *Mahabarata* and from another English translation the two *Eddas*. He had acquired some information about old Scotch ballads and about Davenant. Of Davenant's more famous contemporary, Milton, Chateaubriand knew the earlier poetry, the political works, and something of *Paradise Lost*, which he frequently quotes in the *Génie du Christianisme*, written in part in England. Gray's *Elegy* he read, quoted, and even imitated during his exile. Ossian is, however, the outstanding figure in this early part of Chateaubriand's life. In England, he read the numerous imitations of Ossian which had not appeared in France and became so absorbed in the poems of Smith, that he translated two, *Dargo* and *Duthona*. Chateaubriand was aware of the existence of

other English writers, had read and used the works of some, but his interest was centered upon Gray, Milton, and Ossian. Only the two last mentioned, we are certain, left a permanent influence upon him. Let us turn, then, to an examination of Chateaubriand's works in order to ascertain the nature and extent of this influence.

CHAPTER II

An examination of *Les Natchez*, *Le Génie du Christianisme*, *Les Martyrs*, *Les Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, *L'Essai sur la littérature anglaise*, and the translations of *Paradise Lost* confirms the conclusion of our first chapter, the fact that Chateaubriand was influenced primarily by Milton and Ossian. Let us then study the forms which this influence takes. First and foremost are the actual borrowings from Milton's *Paradise Lost* in *Les Natchez* (1797-99 ?) and *Les Martyrs* (1809). Criticism of Milton is to be found in the *Génie*, 1802, throughout the *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, 1811-1848, and in the *Essai sur la Littérature anglaise*, 1836. Together with this essay appeared the final translation of *Paradise Lost* which had been in preparation for thirty some years and of which the first attempts had been published in the *Génie*. With a consideration of these various translations our study of Miltonic influence will be complete.

As *Les Natchez* were in all probability written in England, it is but natural to assume in them the existence of certain traces of English influence. Chief of these is the borrowing from Milton of an element called by Chateaubriand « le merveilleux ». This is restricted almost entirely to the first part, which alone has epic color. Another epic element is the use of a council, called together in times of public danger. In addressing such a gathering the epic speaker is prone to pronounce an

invocation, examples of which are to be found in *Les Martyrs*, and to enumerate the titles of those assembled before him. This device of enumeration is carried over by Chateaubriand into *Les Natchez* and *Les Martyrs*. In the latter it extends beyond the mere cataloguing of titles to the recital in turn by each individual of the events which have preceded the moment at which he is speaking. Occasionally the recital will be a narration of Biblical events and miracles. Other characteristics of the epic which have been found in *Les Martyrs* are the use of dreams foretelling approaching occurrences, the transformation of persons and certain details in descriptions of battles. A third class of borrowings, found in both *Les Natchez* and *Les Martyrs*, is a use of terms of light and brilliance. Chateaubriand seems to have admired and adopted Milton's love for precious stones, metals, and color. In his own work, whenever there was opportunity for choice, he always chose the most brilliant term and one specific color.

With this general idea of the kinds of borrowings we shall find, we may proceed to an examination of *Les Natchez*, the whole fourth book of which is given over to « le merveilleux ». Here the guardian angel of America goes to heaven to report impending trouble for the Natchez, thus giving the author an opportunity to describe heaven and its inhabitants. The greater part of this element is confined to the fourth book, but occasionally inhabitants of heaven or hell appear elsewhere. So, for instance, in Book IX, p. 298, « le Prince des Ténèbres appelle le Temps et lui dit : ' Puissance dévorante que j'ai enfantée, toi qui....., vole sur les deux flancs de l'armée indienne, coupe les bois antiques pour en faire un rempart aux Natchez... ' » (1).

1. Other examples follow : « La Renommée » and Satan journey together to America where the former becomes an old man and goes among the Natchez spreading false reports (*Les Natchez*, II, pp. 188-9). « Satan planant dans les airs, au-dessus de l'Amérique, jetai un regard désespéré sur cette partie de la terre, où le Sauveur

In addition to the mere fact that Chateaubriand treats of heaven in one chapter of *Les Natchez* as Milton does in his *Paradise Lost*, there are certain decided similarities of detail. In the statement « Les eaux [of heaven], les arbres, les fleurs de ces champs inconnus, *n'ont rien qui ressemble aux nôtres*, hors les noms » (*Les Natchez*, IV, p. 212) there may be some recollection of Eve's lament on her leaving Eden (1).

« O flowers,

*That never will in other climate grow,
My early visitation, and my last
At even, which I bred up with tender hand
From the first opening bud, and gave ye names ! »*

(*Paradise Lost*, XI, p. 652, E. L. A.)

In this extraordinary place a conversation takes place between « L'ange de l'Amérique » and Uriel. « L'Ange de l'Amérique », a visitor to the abode of Uriel, as is Satan

le poursuit, comme le soleil qui, s'avançant des portes de l'Orient, chasse devant lui les ténèbres..... » (*Les Natchez*, II, p. 175). « Satan, rempli de projets de vengeance, va aux enfers rassembler le conseil des Démons » (*ibid.*, II, p. 175). « Le Prince des Enfers arrive aux extrémités du monde où se trouve le palais de la Renommée » (*Les Natchez*, II, pp. 185-6). The description of this place recalls *Paradise Lost* I, l. 710 ff ; cf. Chinard, « Chateaubriand, ' Les Natchez ' I & II », p. 256). « Le Démon de l'or », fearing the results of Père Souël's speech to the French, « souffle sa concupiscence sur le conseil ». At once all generous impulses die (*Les Natchez*, III, pp. 198-9). « Satan appelle à lui les esprits des ténèbres ; il leur ordonne de soutenir les Natchez par tous les moyens dont il a plu à Dieu de laisser la puissance au Génie du mal ». A hurricane is produced (*Les Natchez*, IX, p. 293). Again in *Les Natchez* (p. 330) the angels go to the aid of a member of the tribe and his companion. « Les Anges veillèrent sur le repos de ces deux hommes [Outagamiz and René] qui avaient trouvé grâce auprès de celui qui dormit dans le sein de Jean ». Another example of this kind may be found in *Les Natchez*, II, 217. « L'Éternel révéla à son Fils bien-aimé ses desseins sur l'Amérique. Cependant..... [il] permet à Satan un moment de triomphe..... »

1. The quotations from Milton are taken from the text given by Chateaubriand in his *Essai sur la littérature anglaise*.

in *Paradise Lost* (cf. Dick, *op. cit.*, p. 44), questions Uriel, who replies : « votre curiosité n'a *rien d'indiscret*, puisque *vous n'avez pour but que de glorifier l'œuvre du Père* » (*Les Natchez*, IV, p. 206).

« Fair angel, thy desire, which tends to know
The works of God, *thereby to glorify*
The great Work-Master, leads to no excess
That reaches blame, but rather merits praise »

(*Paradise Lost*, Iii, p. 427-8, E. L. A.).

Uriel, continuing, speaks of the Creation, which he had witnessed. Here, as in many instances, Chateaubriand may have been inspired by Milton, who in turn was inspired by the Bible. It must be borne in mind that since both writers were undoubtedly inspired by the Bible, it is often difficult to decide whether the points of contact really are with Milton. Uriel (*Les Natchez*, IV, p. 206) : « Lorsque la création sortit du néant à la Parole éternelle ». Uriel to Satan, *Paradise Lost*, III, p. 428, E. L. A.,

« I saw, when at his word, the formless mass,
This world's material mould, came to a heap ».

The Bible again may be the ultimate source of Milton and Chateaubriand for part of a conversation between Catherine de France and Mary which also takes place in heaven. Chateaubriand speaks of « Le serpent dont vous avez écrasé la tête » (*Les Natchez*, IV, p. 214).

« Between thee and the woman I will put
Enmity, and between thine and her seed ;
Her seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel »

(*Paradise Lost*, X, p. 613, E. L. A.).

The epithet with which Catherine addresses Mary is the same which Milton uses of Mary. Catherine : « Marie d'Emmanuel ! *seconde Eve* » (*Les Natchez*, IV, p. 214).

« Long after to blest Mary, *second Eve* »

(*Paradise Lost*, V, p. 477, E. L. A.).

Isolated examples of the « merveilleux » are found

scattered throughout the first ten books of *Les Natchez*. This element is concentrated in one chapter only and there the borrowings from Milton consist of a detailed description of heaven and of subjects of conversation between the visiting angel or demon and the inhabitant of the region, and finally of an epithet used in that conversation. The fact that this characteristic of *Les Natchez* which is borrowed from *Paradise Lost* appears only in the first part of the work can be readily explained by the author's statement in the preface : «..... le premier volume s'élève à la dignité de l'épopée, comme dans les *Martyrs* ; le second volume descend à la narration ordinaire, comme dans *Atala* et dans *René* » (*Les Natchez*, Préface, p. 158). « Dans le second volume, le merveilleux disparaît mais l'intrigue se complique, et les personnages se multiplient : quelques-uns d'entre eux sont pris jusque dans les rangs inférieurs de la société. Enfin le roman remplace le poème..... » (*Les Natchez*, Préface, p. 159). This change of genre was made on Chateaubriand's return to France when he reworked the *Natchez* manuscript which had been left in England and returned to him later. « Pour arriver à l'unité du style il eût fallu effacer du premier volume la couleur épique, ou l'étendre sur le second : or, dans l'un ou l'autre cas, je n'aurais plus reproduit avec fidélité le travail de ma jeunesse », *Romans et poésies diverses*, Préface, *Les Natchez*, p. 158, and this change would have taken too long.

Turning back to our borrowings, we find inspired by the Satanic council in *Paradise Lost* the council held by Ondouré in the second part of *Les Natchez*. The idea of holding a meeting of the kind here described is common to all epics. M. Dick has already mentioned this point of contact between *Paradise Lost* and *Les Natchez*. There are certain details which may be added from an extensive comparison of the two scenes.

The time at which the council takes place is the same, sunset.

« Now when ambrosial night with clouds exhal'd
From that high mount of God, whence light and shade
Spring both, the face of brightest Heaven had chang'd
To grateful twilight »

(*Paradise Lost*, V, p. 485, *E. L. A.*).

« C'était au coucher du soleil que devait commencer
la délibération »

(*Les Natchez*, p. 447).

The meeting places have a similar location :

« and Satan on his royal seat
High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount
Rais'd on a mount.
For thither he assembled all his train »

(*Paradise Lost*, V, p. 489, *E. L. A.*).

« Sur la côte septentrionale du lac Supérieur s'élève
une roche d'une hauteur prodigieuse..... C'était à ce
rocher... que toutes les nations indiennes se de-
vaient réunir »

(*Les Natchez*, p. 443).

In each instance there is pretense on the part of the
person who has called the meeting.

Satan :

« Pretending, so commanded, to consult
About the great reception of their King! »

(*Paradise Lost*, V, p. 489, *E. L. A.*)

Ondouré uses patriotism to conceal his own designs
to get René out of the way. At an earlier meeting of
the Satanic powers, Beelzebub has suggested a sudden
attack which will at once lay waste the whole world in
these words.

Ondouré :

« Une nuit, les chairs rouges se lèveront à la fois,
et extermineront leurs ennemis »

(*Les Natchez*, p. 450) ;

Beelzebub :

. « here [on earth] perhaps
Some advantageous act may be achiev'd
By sudden onset; either with Hell-fire
To waste his whole creation, or possess
All as our own. »

(*Paradise Lost*, II, p. 382, *E. L. A.*).

Abdiel alone of all those who sit in council with Satan opposes his plan (*Paradise Lost*, V, 490-493 *E. L. A.*) and finally leaves. The Iroquois, too, fail to agree with Ondouré's plan and refuse to join in the contemplated massacre (*Les Natchez*, pp. 451-3). Here, however, there is no similarity of speech.

Another epic device is common to *Les Natchez* and to *Paradise Lost*, namely the cataloguing of terms applied to the inhabitants of heaven.

« Là, les Anges, les Archanges, les Trônes, les Dom-
inations, les Séraphins n'osent errer »

(*Les Natchez*, p. 215).

« Thrones, Princedoms, Powers, Dominions, I reduce »

(*Paradise Lost*, III, p. 416, *E. L. A.*).

« Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers »

(*Paradise Lost*, V, p. 484, *E. L. A.*).

In this instance, again, Milton and Chateaubriand may have a common source in the Bible. In this particular passage Chateaubriand has not listed these terms in addressing the various powers as he has done elsewhere and as Milton has done in the parallel passage quoted. The only appearances of the Miltonic epic element in *Les Natchez* are, then, in this enumeration and in the council.

The most important borrowings may be grouped under the general heading of use of precious stones and of gold in description of heavenly things. Whereas in Book V of *Paradise Lost*, Milton has the angels eating and drinking from pearl, diamond, and golden vessels, Chateau-

briand has chosen only the most brilliant element and has Uriel present to the Angel of America « une coupe de diamant pleine d'une liqueur inconnue » (*Les Natchez*, IV, p. 206) :

« L'Ange du soleil présenta à celui de l'Amérique *une coupe de diamant, pleine d'une liqueur inconnue* ; les dernières gouttes du *nectar*. . . . »

(*Les Natchez*, IV, p. 206) ;

« all in circles as they stood,
Tables are set, and on a sudden pil'd
With angels' food, and *rubied nectar* flow
In pearl, in diamond, and massy gold,
Fruit of delicious vines, the growth of Heaven »

(*Paradise Lost*, V, p. 485, *E. L. A.*).

Again, gold is the quality, chosen by Chateaubriand from Milton and the « glorious color » becomes one definite color in *Les Natchez*, « pourpre ».

« What wonder then if fields and regions here
Breathe forth elixir pure, and *rivers run*
Potable gold, when with one virtuous touch,
Th' arch-chymic sun (so far from us remote)
Produces, with so many precious things,
Of colour glorious and effect so rare ?
Here matter new to gaze the devil met
Undazzled ; far and wide his eye commands »

(*Paradise Lost*, III, p. 425, *E. L. A.*) ;

« il [l'ange protecteur de l'Amérique] nage dans
les mers d'or et de pourpre ; et *sans en être ébloui*,
les regards fixés sur l'astre du jour..... »

(*Les Natchez*, IV, p. 205).

It is to be noted that, in both the above-mentioned cases, the person looking upon all this brilliance is not dazzled by it. In still another instance, « golden » is used as it is in Milton :

« L'éternel n'avait point encore pesé dans ses
balances d'or la destinée de ces guerriers ; la victoire
demeurait incertaine »

(*Les Natchez*, III, pp. 203-229) ;

« Now dreadful deeds
 Might have ensued

 had not soon
Th'Eternal, to prevent such horrid fray,
 Hung forth in Heaven *his golden scales*, yet seen
 Betwixt Astrea and the Scorpion sign,
 Wherein all things created first he weigh'd,
 The pendulous round earth with balanc'd air
 In counterpoise ; now ponders all events,
 Battles, realms ; in these he put two weights ;
 The sequel each of parting and of fight ».

(*Paradise Lost*, IV, p. 463, *E. L. A. Cf. Dick, op. cit.*, p. 39).

Of this passage Chateaubriand says in a note to *Les Martyrs* (p. 528, Rem., VI) : « Voyez Homère et l'Écriture ». As the same situation occurs in *Les Natchez* and in *Paradise Lost* it is quite possible to believe that in this Chateaubriand and Milton have a common source in Homer, χρύσεια πτερὰ ἐτίτανε τέλαντα, *Iliad*, VIII, 69, XXII, 209, since in the Bible there is no mention of *golden scales*. The last example of this type of borrowing is of a slightly different kind, though it has in common with the others brilliance. The four cherubim with flaming swords who guard the highest regions of heaven recall the cherubim placed outside of Paradise after man's fall.

« Un rideau..... sépare les régions inférieures du Ciel,
 de ces régions sublimes ; la garde en est confiée
 à quatre Chérubins armés d'épées flamboyantes »

(*Les Natchez*, IV, p. 215-216) ;

« and from the other hill
 To their fix'd station, *all in bright array*
The cherubim descended :
 High in front advanced
 The brandish'd sword of god before them blaz'd
 Fierce as a comet ;
 To the gate of the garden of *Eden* »

(*Paradise Lost*, XII, p. 693, *E. L. A.*).

Finally there are two more cases in which there is possible borrowing from Milton, both of which fall outside of the three classes already discussed. In speaking of the young ruler's new tutor :

« Ainsi l'éducation d'un enfant qui devait un jour commander à des peuples, fut remise à des mains oppressives et souillées : le *champ empoisonné de Gomorrhe* fait mourir la plante qu'on lui confie, ou ne porte que des arbres dont *les fruits sont remplis de cendre* »

(*Les Natchez*, p. 348).

This may recall :

« Greedily they pluck'd
The fruitage fair to sight, like that which grew
Near that bituminous lake where Sodom flam'd ;
This more delusive, not the touch, but taste
Deceiv'd : they fondly thinking to allay
Their appetite with gust, *instead of fruit*
Chew'd bitter ashes »

(*Paradise Lost*, X, p. 625, *E. L. A.*).

The second we mention as an example of possible influence only, since it expresses a common-place.

« Un homme, pour comprendre l'infini, détournerait sa pensée d'une entreprise si vaine »

(*Les Natchez*, IV, p. 250).

« Heaven is for thee too high
To know what passes there »

(*Paradise Lost*, VIII, p. 551, *E. L. A.*).

In *Les Natchez*, then, Milton's influence is noticeable in the « merveilleux chrétien », which appears particularly in the fourth book, but occasionally also in other parts of this work. Chateaubriand seems to remember at intervals throughout the second part the epic character of part one and therefore introduces occasionally a guardian angel, but more frequently a demon or Satan himself come to America bent on some evil purpose. The epic element constitutes the second type of

borrowing. Under this somewhat misleading title we have grouped all such similarities between *Les Natchez* and *Paradise Lost* as are common to the epic in general. Finally comes the borrowing, also allied with the « merveilleux », of terms of brilliance, such as gold, diamond. Milton has inspired no ideas or no great scenes. His inspiration is confined chiefly to one book. There are similarities of a general nature in this book, similarities of situation, of the time of an action, verbal likenesses, minutiae, all pointing to the fact that Chateaubriand had a remarkable memory, that he remembered an apt expression dealing with the miraculous, or characteristic of the epic, or impressive because of its splendor. In short the reminiscences of Milton found in *Les Natchez* are of little importance, for they recall the less important substance of Milton's work.

Though the *Génie* is next in order of composition of Chateaubriand's works, we shall leave it for the time being, since Milton exerted no influence upon it except in so far as he was the object of Chateaubriand's criticism. The next work to concern us is, then, *Les Martyrs*. Since this work was to exemplify the doctrine of the *Génie*, « il m'a semblé qu'il fallait », says Chateaubriand in the Preface to the first and second editions, p. V, « un sujet qui renfermât dans un même cadre le tableau des deux religions, la morale, les sacrifices, les pompes des deux cultes ; un sujet..... où le Jupiter d'Homère vint se placer à côté du *Jéhovah* de Milton sans blesser la piété, le goût et la vraisemblance des mœurs ». M. Dick, in his *Chateaubriands Verhältnis zu Milton*, p. 24, claims that Chateaubriand made use of the suggestion given by Milton in the beginning of the ninth book where he speaks of man's disloyalty which is to be the subject of the remainder of the book (*Paradise Lost*, IX, lines 27-33).

« Sad task ! yet argument
Not less, but more, heroic than the wrath
Of stern Achilles.

Not sedulous by nature to indite
 Wars, hitherto the only argument
 Heroic deemed, chief mastery to dissect
 With long and tedious havoc fabled knights
 In battles feigned (*the better fortitude*
Of patience and heroic martyrdom
Unsung) or to describe races and fames..."

In Milton's phrase « heroic martyrdom unsung », M. Dick thinks, Chateaubriand found the theme of his novel, but he supports this statement by no evidence that makes us accept it rather than the explanation given by Chateaubriand himself.

In this work there are far more borrowings from Milton than in the earlier *Nalchez*, but they may be grouped under the same headings. Far more extensive use is made of the « merveilleux » in *Les Martyrs* than in *Les Nalchez*. One whole chapter, the third, is devoted to heaven, another, the eighth, to hell. This balancing of the powers of light and darkness extends to many of the cases of intervention which are scattered through the book. So in Book XV, angels and demons are present at the public hearing of the two faiths (*Les Martyrs*, XV, p. 227). At the end of the council, hell is joyous and the angels return in sadness to heaven (*Les Martyrs*, XVI, p. 243). Similar is the intervention of hell and the withdrawal of heaven's aid in the Velléda episode (*Les Martyrs*, X, p. 151). In Book XVII the two powers are in conflict in one person. Satan goes to inspire the sibyl ; and simultaneously an angel is sent by God to keep her from pronouncing an adverse oracle (*Les Martyrs*, XVII, pp. 254 ff.). Additional examples of intervention by God or his angels follow :

« L'Ange des saintes amours » visits Eudore

(*ibid.*, p. 177).

Paul is taken up into heaven by a company of angels

(*ibid.*, XI, p. 171).

« L'Ange des saintes amours l'inspire et la mère du Sauveur la [Cymodocée] remplit de résolutions généreuses »

(*ibid.*, XIII, p. 191).

When the Roman soldiers search for Cymodocée in the gathering of Christians, a guardian angel helps Eudore escape with her

(*ibid.*, XV, pp. 209-10).

« La divine mère du Sauveur veillait sur les jours de l'innocente pèlerine ; elle envoie Gabriel à l'Ange des mers afin de lui commander de ne laisser souffler que la plus douce haleine des vents »

(*ibid.*, XV, pp. 220-2).

God sends an angel, whose duty it is to inscribe eternal decrees in the Book of Life, to the fathers of the Church

(*ibid.*, XV, p. 223).

Christ, returning from inspection of worlds, sees Cymodocée's vessel and communicates his will to the Angel of the seas

(*ibid.*, XIX, p. 287-8).

The Queen of the Angels holds Cymodocée on the balcony

(*ibid.*, XX, p. 300).

There is joy in heaven over Eudore's impending death

(*ibid.*, XXI, p. 312).

The Seraphim and guardian angels are with Eudore when he is tortured

(*ibid.*, XXI, p. 313).

Mary asks for mercy and is allowed to take Séphora, Eudore's mother, to heaven from purgatory

(*ibid.*, XXI, pp. 314 ff.).

God sends the Angel of Hope to comfort Cymodocée

(*ibid.*, XXIII, p. 335).

At Cymodocée's request God sends the Angel of Sleep to Démocus

(*ibid.*, XXIII, p. 343).

God gives his blessing to Eudore and Cymodocée in the arena

(*ibid.*, XXIV, p. 356).

Three examples show the vengeance of the angels :

« L'ange exterminateur est envoyé par Dieu à Galérius

(*ibid.*, XXII, p. 319).

et à Hiéroclès »

(*ibid.*, XXIII, p. 333).

« Michel plonge Satan dans l'abîme »

(*ibid.*, p. 351 ff.).

There are eight more cases in which the demons enter :

Astarté intervenes

(*Mart.*, Book XII, p. 172).

Satan fills Diocletian with superstition

(*ibid.*, p. 175).

Demons send a favorable wind

(*ibid.*, p. 177).

Heaven and hell enter

(*ibid.*, XIII, p. 188).

Satan calls on the help of Astarté

(*ibid.*, XIII, p. 189).

Satan goes to hell to bring up the « Démon de la jalousie »

(*ibid.*, XIV, pp. 199 ff.).

Hiéroclès comes to Rome accompanied by all the powers of hell.

(*ibid.*, XV, p. 224).

Hell rejoices over the decree of the Emperor

(*ibid.*, XVIII, p. 257) ;

and again, p. 266, when the earth is given into the hands of the Angel of homicide, hell works with the magician (p. 270).

The Demon of false wisdom is disguised as a school master

(*ibid.*, XVII, p. 231).

Satan rouses prejudice and hatred in those present at the council

(*ibid.*, XVI, p. 235).

« Satan ranime le fanatisme du peuple »

(*Mart.*, XXIII, p. 328).

Satan and his followers rejoice in Eudore's suffering

(*ibid.*, XXIV, p. 349).

Satan plays a far more active part than God, who often allows Mary and the angels to take the initiative. There are altogether some thirty examples of this kind of intervention.

In Chapter III of *Les Martyrs* there are certain individual points in addition to the general ideas of heaven which are borrowed from Milton. Thus in the description of heaven, we find a Tree (*Mart.*, III, p. 34) of Knowledge (1) and a Tree of Life which Köhler (p. 29) has pointed out as counterparts of the trees in the earthly Paradise. The river which waters Eden recalls the one described in *Paradise Lost*. In fact the *Remarques* (p. 430) say: « on lisait dans les premières éditions quatre fleuves ». Chateaubriand continues: « J'avais voulu rappeler le paradis terrestre. Je suis revenu à une image plus fidèle à la lettre de l'Écriture ».

« L'onde mystérieuse se partage en divers canaux
qui s'enchaînent, se divisent, se rejoignent, se quittent
encore et font croître avec la vigne immortelle le
lis semblable à l'épouse, et les fleurs qui parfument
la couche de l'époux »

(*Mart.*, III, p. 34, cf. Köhler, p. 29) ;

« thence united fell
Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood,
Which from his darksome passage now appears,
And now, divided into four main streams,
Runs diverse, wandering many a famous realm
.
How from that sapphire fount the crisped brooks,
Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold
With mazy arrow under pendent shades
Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed
Flowers worthy of Paradise . . . »

(*Paradise Lost*, IV, p. 438, E. L. A.).

This may also be suggested by books of travel of the

1. The Bible may be the common source (cf. Smead, p. 72 ; *Gen.*, 2 : 17 and *Apoc.*, 22 : 2).

sixteenth century. Passing on to the heavenly divinities, we find that

« le Père tient un compas (1) à la main »

(*Les Martyrs*, III, p. 39);

« and in his [Son's] hand
He took the golden *compasses*, prepared
In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
This universe »

(*Paradise Lost*, VII, p. 531, *E. L. A. Köhler*, p. 32).

The second person of the Trinity

« Le Fils armé de foudre (2) est assis à sa droite »

(*Les Martyrs*, III, p. 39);

« beside him hung his bow
And quiver *with three-bolted thunder stor'd* »

(*Paradise Lost*, VI, p. 519, *E. L. A.*).

The functions of the whole company of angels in *Les Martyrs* are modeled on the functions of Milton's angels.

« Un million de ces Génies ardents règlent les mouvements des astres et se relèvent tour à tour dans ces emplois magnifiques... »

(*Mart.*, III, p. 35).

« Such was their song
While the creator, calling forth by name
His mighty angels, gave them several charge,
As sorted best with present things.
. *To the blank moon*
Her office they prescribed, to the other five
Their planetary motions, and aspects,
In sextile, square, and trine, and opposite.
Of noxious efficacy, and when to join

1. It is strange that Chateaubriand has omitted *golden*.

2. Dr. Smead, *Chateaubriand et la Bible*, p. 83, refers to *Apoc.* 4:5 « Il sortait du trône des éclairs, des tonnerres, et des voix » and to *Marc* 14:62, « assis à sa droite ». In neither of these passages is there a mention of the son's being armed with the bolts. This idea must therefore come from Milton.

In synod unbenign ; and taught the fix'd
 Their influence malignant when to shower ;
 Which of them rising with the sun, or falling
 Should prove tempestuous :

. The sun
 Had first his precept so to move, so shine,
 As might affect the earth with cold and heat
 Scarce tolerable, and from the north to call
 Decrepit winter ; from the south to bring
 Solstitial summer's heat »

(*Paradise Lost*, X, pp. 627-8, *E. L. A.*).

Whereas some of the angelic hosts must watch over the
 movements of the stars, others must concern themselves
 with the winds.

« A ceux-là appartient la direction des saisons, des
 vents et des tempêtes »

(*Mart.*, III, p. 34).

. to the winds they set
 Their corners, when with bluster to confound
 Sea, air, and shore »

(*Paradise Lost*, X, p. 628, *E. L. A.*).

It was the particular duty of the « Ange des mers » to
 bring about the flood, as is shown incidentally in *Les*
Martyrs XV. The use of the word « cataractes » may
 be due to the direct influence of Milton or it may have
 with Milton a common source in the Latin Bible.

« Ce fut lui qui, par l'ordre de Dieu, ouvrit au
 Déluge les cataractes du ciel »

(*Les Martyrs*, XV, p. 221).

. but all the cataracts
 Of heaven set open on the earth shall pour
 Rain, day and night. . . . »

(*Paradise Lost*, XI, p. 670, *E. L. A.*).

The burden of the angels' song is the same in Milton's
 and Chateaubriand's works.

« Les six jours de la création, le repos du Seigneur...
 sont célébrés tour à tour dans les royaumes incor-
 ruptibles »

(*Les Martyrs*, III, 37).

« and, from work
 Now resting, bless'd and hallow'd the seventh day,
 As resting on that day the harp
 Had work, and rested not.
Creation and the six days' acts they sung »

(*Paradise Lost*, VII, p. 543, *E. L. A.* ; cf. *Gen.* 2 : 2 (1).

Later in *Les Martyrs*, at the death of Séphora, Eudore's mother, Mary goes forth to meet her and escort her to heaven. As they approach heaven, the « chœur des puissances » sings :

« *Ouvrez-vous, portes éternelles : laissez passer la Souveraine des cieux ! »*

(*Les Martyrs*, XXI, p. 317 ; cf. *Ps.* 27 : 3 (2),

which recalls the song of acclaim that greeted the Creator on his return to his habitation after his work had been completed,

« *Open, ye everlasting gates ! they sung ;
 Open, ye Heavens ! your living doors ; let in
 The great Creator, from his work return'd »*

(*Paradise Lost*, VII, p. 542, *E. L. A.*).

Michael, one of the greater angels, is armed with a spear in *Les Martyrs* as he is in *Paradise Lost* and in *Jerusalem Delivered*.

« *Le vainqueur de l'antique Dragon, Michel, prépare
 sa lance redoutable »*

(*Les Martyrs*, III, p. 42).

« by his side,
 As in a glistering zodiac, hung the sword,
 Satan's due dread ; and *in his hand the spear »*

(*Paradise Lost*, XI, p. 651, *E. L. A.*).

1. Though *Gen.* 2:2 (cf. Smead, p. 77), speaks of the creation no mention is made of the angels singing and this idea is common to Milton and Chateaubriand.

2. The « remarque » (*Les Martyrs*, p. 582) to which Dr. Smead refers) p. 147) quotes a few Latin words from *Ps.* 27:3 and adds a statement which shows once again how difficult it is to say definitely that this comes from Milton or that from the Bible, « que Milton a si bien imité : ' Open ye everlasting doors ! ' »

Tradition, however, has Michael armed with a sword and St-George with a spear. Michael in *Les Martyrs*, too, is compared in his flight to a comet :

« Au signal du Dieu fort, Michel s'élance des cieux
comme une comète »

(*Les Martyrs*, XXIV, p. 352 ; Köhler, p. 79).

Köhler thinks that this comparison may have been suggested by one in Milton which is applied to Uriel, i.e.,

« . . . swift as a shooting star »

(*Paradise Lost*, IV, p. 448, *E. L. A.*).

Could not this be an every-day comparison ? Still another angel gives cause for comparison between Milton and Chateaubriand. There is some slight possibility that the Angel of Sleep summoned by Cymodocée remembers a part of creation through the influence of that particular part of creation as related in *Paradise Lost* :

« il cherche des yeux les déserts où furent les campagnes
d'Eden ; il se souvient du premier sommeil de l'homme,
alors que Dieu tira du côté d'Adam la belle com-
pagne qui devait perdre et sauver la race humaine »

(*Mart.*, XXIII, p. 343).

« and sought repair
Of sleep, which instantly fell on me »

(*Paradise Lost*, VIII, p. 560, *E. L. A.*).

In addition to the angels, the saints form a part of Chateaubriand's heaven in *Les Martyrs*. They delight in all of God's works, but chiefly in man.

« Mais l'objet le plus étonnant offert à la contemplation
des Saints, c'est l'homme »

(*Mart.*, III, p. 36).

Satan to Uriel :

« Unspeakable desire to see, and know
All these his wondrous works, but chiefly man,
His chief delight and favour, him for whom
All these his works so wondrous he ordain'd,

Hath brought me from the quires of cherubim
Above thus wandering »

(*Paradise Lost*, III, p. 427, *E. L. A.*).

Chateaubriand has absorbed Milton's idea and transferred it from God to the saints.

To such a heaven as this, then, rises the prayer of Cyrille just as do the prayers of repentant Adam and Eve.

« Les dernières paroles de Cyrille montèrent au trône
de l'Éternel. Le Tout-Puissant agréa le sacrifice »

(*Mart.*, III, p. 33).

« To Heaven their prayers
Flew up.
Before the Father's throne. . . . »

(*Paradise Lost*, XI, p. 644, *E. L. A.*, cf. *Dick*, *op. cit.* p. 89).

Since the ruler of this heaven intends to punish his Church, he allows Satan to carry out his schemes against the Church. This attitude of the Almighty may have been suggested to Chateaubriand by *Paradise Lost*.

« L'archange rebelle ignore les desseins de l'Éternel
qui va punir l'Église coupable ; mais il sent que la
domination sur les Fidèles lui est un moment
accordée, et que le ciel le laisse libre d'accomplir
ses noirs projets »

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 117).

« So stretch'd out huge in length the arch-fiend lay,
Chain'd on the burning lake, nor ever thence
Had risen or heav'd his head, *but that the will*
And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
Left him at large to his own dark designs »

(*Paradise Lost*, I, p. 350, *E. L. A.*).

As for Satan's plans, they include annihilation of the Christians in *Les Martyrs*,

« Satan gémit de la perte de sa puissance, mais du
moins il ne cédera pas la victoire sans combat. Il
jure par l'Éternité de l'Enfer, d'anéantir les ado-
rateurs du vrai Dieu... »

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 117 ; Köhler, p. 44).

and eternal war on God in *Paradise Lost* :

“ what though the field is lost !
All is not lost ; the unconquerable will,
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield,
And what is else not to be overcome ?

Since, through experience of this great event,
In arms not worse, in foresight much advanced,
We may with more successful hope resolve
To wage by force or guile eternal war »

(*Paradise Lost*, I, p. 347-8, E. L. A.).

He is remorseful at sight of the sufferings of his followers :

« *Une larme involontaire* mouille les yeux de l'Esprit pervers, au moment où il s'enfonce dans les royaumes de la nuit *Un mouvement de remords et de pitié* saisit le cœur de l'Archange rebelle. ' *C'est donc moi, s'écrie-t-il, qui ai creusé ces prisons, et rassemblé, tous ces maux ! Sans moi le mal eût été inconnu dans les œuvres du Tout-Puissant. Que m'avait fait l'homme, cette belle et noble créature ?* ' »

(*Les Martyrs*, p. 118).

The same sentiment is expressed in *Paradise Lost*, as Köhler has shown (p. 45) :

“ cruel his eye, but cast
Signs of remorse and passion, to behold
The fellows of his crime, the followers rather,
(Far other once beheld in bliss) condemn'd
For ever now to have their lot in pain !
Millions of spirits *for his fault* amerced
Of Heaven and from eternal splendours flung
For his revolt »

(*Paradise Lost*, I, p. 362-3, E. L. A.).

Of this passage Chateaubriand says in *Remarque XI*, (p. 484) :

« Je n'ai pris cela à personne ; mais le mouvement de remords et de pitié qui suit est une imitation détournée du mouvement de pitié qui saisit le Satan de Milton à la vue de l'homme ».

The passage follows :

« O Hell ! what do mine eyes *with grief* behold ?

 and this high seat your Heaven
 Ill fenc'd for Heaven to keep out such a foe
 As now is enter'd : yet no purpos'd foe
 To you, *whom I could pity thus forlorn*,
 Though I unpitied »

(*Paradise Lost*, IV, pp. 442-3, *E. L. A.*, Köhler, p. 45).

« Thank him who puts me loth to this revenge
 On you, who wrong me not for him who wrong'd.
 And *should I at your harmless innocence*
Melt, as I do, yet public reason just,
 Honour and empire with revenge enlarg'd,
 By conquering this new world, compels me now
 To do what else, though damn'd, I should abhor »

(*Paradise Lost*, IV, p. 443, *E. L. A.*).

Satan, when Eden is before him, says :

« O ! then at last relent : is there no place
 Left for repentance, none for pardon left ?
 None left, but by submission ; and that word
 Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame
Among the spirits beneath ; whom I seduc'd
 With other promises and other vaunts
 Than to submit »

(*Paradise Lost*, IV, p. 433-4, *E. L. A.*).

Though suffering intensely when he addresses the assembly of devils Satan endeavors to conceal his pain.

« Dissimulant les chagrins qui le dévorent, Satan
 parle ainsi à l'assemblée »

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 124).

The same concealment of suffering is to be found in *Paradise Lost*.

« So spake the apostate angel, though in pain ;
 Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep despair »

(*Paradise Lost*, I, p. 348, *E. L. A.*).

As Satan sits and stands before his subjects, he is likened by Chateaubriand and by Milton to a comet and to a tower.

« Non plus comme cet *astre du matin* qui nous apporte
la lumière, mais semblable à une *comète effrayante*,
Lucifer s'assied sur son trône »

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 121);

« as when the sun new-risen
Looks through the horizontal misty air
Shorn of his beams »

(*Paradise Lost*, I, p. 362, *E. L. A.*).

« Satan stood
Unterrified, and like a comet burned
That. . . . from his horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war »

(*Paradise Lost*, II, p. 393, *E. L. A.*, cf. *Dick*, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-8);

« ou telle que dans une ville embrasée, on remarque
au milieu des édifices fumants une haute tour dont
les flammes couronnent le sommet; tel parait
l'Archange tombé au milieu de ses compagnons »

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 121).

« He above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent,
Stood like a tower »

(*Paradise Lost*, I, p. 362, *E. L. A.*);

« as, when heaven's fire
Hath scathed the forest oaks or mountain pines
With singed top their stately growth, though bare,
Stands on the blasted heath »

(*Paradise Lost*, I, p. 363, *E. L. A.*).

There is evidence of Miltonic influence not only on Satan but also on Death and Crime — the children of Satan — whom Chateaubriand himself (*Mart.*, p. 484) compares to Sin and Death in *Paradise Lost*, II. Their abode in each work is at the gates of hell. The conversations between parent and child are alike.

« O mon père, s'écrie-t-elle [la Mort], j'incline devant
toi cette tête qui ne s'abaisse jamais devant per-

sonne. *Viens-tu rassasier la faim insatiable de ta fille ? ... »*

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 118)

Satan replies to this question of Death in words equivalent to those addressed to Sin and Death in *Paradise Lost*.

« O Mort ! *tu seras satisfaite et vengée : je vais livrer à ta rage le peuple nombreux de ton unique vainqueur »*

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 119) ;

« . . . and, this once known, shall soon return,
And bring ye to the place where thou and Death
Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen
Wing silently the buxom air imbalm'd
With odours ; *there ye [Sin and Death] shall be fed and fill'd Immeasurably ; all things shall be your prey »*

(*Paradise Lost*, II, p. 397, *E. L. A.*) ;

« . . . both seemed highly pleased, and Death
Grinned horrible a ghastly smile, to hear
His famine should be filled, and blessed his man
Destined to that good hour »

(*Paradise Lost*, II, p. 397, *E. L. A.*).

Köhler (p. 46) would have Death's bowing to her father and the demons' hastening to do his commands come from Milton's « Toward him they bend with awful reverence prone » (*Paradise Lost*, II, 386, *E. L. A.*). This is, however, the usual attitude of subject to king. These lesser devils retain their likeness to God, though they are condemned to everlasting punishment. In this they resemble Milton's devils.

« Elles [les âmes condamnées] portent en elles-mêmes l'image ineffaçable de la beauté de Dieu... »

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 120).

Abdiel at sight of Satan and the revolting angels exclaims :

« O Heaven ! that such *resemblance of the Highest*
Should yet remain, where faith and reality
Remain not »

(*Paradise Lost*, VI, p. 498, *E. L. A.*).

« Forthwith from every squadron and each band
The heads and leaders thither haste, where stood
Their great commander ; godlike shapes and forms »

(*Paradise Lost*, I, p. 355, E. L. A.).

These, Satan's followers, bear the same names, in *Les Martyrs*.

« Enfin on voit réunis dans ce conseil tous les faux
dieux des nations, et Mitra, et Baal, et Moloch..... »

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 121).

« First Moloch, horrid King..... »

(*Paradise Lost*, I, p. 356, E. L. A.).

« With these came they, who from the bordering flood
Of old Euphrates to the brook that parts
Aegypt from Syrian ground, had general names
Of Baalim and Ashlaroth... »

(*Paradise Lost*, I, p. 357, E. L. A.).

Astarté, too, is one of the followers of Satan :

« là sourit le Démon de la volupté ; les hommes
l'appellent Vénus, l'Enfer le connaît sous le nom
d'Astarté »

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 121).

« With these in troop
Came Astoroth, whom the Phoenicians call'd
Astarte »

(*Paradise Lost*, I, p. 357, E. L. A.).

Similarity is more than superficial since to two of the « génies » of *Les Martyrs* are transferred the characters of the Miltonic Belial and Moloch.

« Là raisonne le Génie de la fausse sagesse »

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 121).

« But all was false and hollow, though his [Belial's] tongue
Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest counsels »

(*Paradise Lost*, II, p. 374, E. L. A.).

« Là rugit l'Esprit de la guerre »

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 121).

[Moloch] « the fiercest spirit
That fought in Heaven »

(*Paradise Lost*, II, p. 372 ff., *E. L. A.*).

These are the gods or « génies » of highest rank in Milton's and Chateaubriand's works. M. Dick, *op. cit.*, p. 38, has called our attention to the fact that in Chateaubriand as well as in Milton the subordinate demons are the gods of Olympus.

When all these powers of darkness have assembled, Satan addresses them in the fashion which was mentioned in our study of *Les Natchez*. Cf. *Les Natchez*, p. 215 ; *Romans* 8 : 38 ; Smead, *Chateaubriand et la Bible*, p. 21 ;

Dick, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

« Dieux des nations, trônes, ardeurs, guerriers généreux, milices invincibles race noble et indépendante, magnanimes enfants de cette forte patrie, le jour de gloire est arrivé »

(*Mart.*, VIII, pp. 121-2).

« Powers and Dominions, Deities of Heaven ! »

(*Paradise Lost*, II, p. 371, *E. L. A.*).

« Princes, Heaven's ancient Sons, ethereal Thrones »

(*Paradise Regained*, II, line 121).

« Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers ! »

(*Paradise Lost*, X, p. 621, *E. L. A.*).

Both God and his Arch-enemy address their followers in this way in Milton. This same enumeration is used in the last book of *Les Martyrs*, but not in addressing the powers concerned.

« *Les Anges, les Trônes, les Dominations* prosternés, entendaient saisis de joie »

(*Mart.*, XXIV, p. 351).

Compare the way in which God addresses the heavens, for example :

« *Thrones, Princedoms, Powers, Dominions* »

(*Paradise Lost*, III, p. 416, *E. L. A.*).

Satan bids the assembled hosts deliberate on the quickest way (in Milton : the best way) of conquering the Christians :

« faisons donc tous ensemble un nouvel effort, afin de renverser cette Croix qui nous menace ; et *délibérons sur les moyens les plus prompts de parvenir à cette victoire* »

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 122, *cf.* Köhler, p. 51) ;

« we now return
To claim our just inheritance of old,
. and, *by what best way*,
Whether of open war or covert guile
We now debate »

(*Paradise Lost*, II, p. 372, *E. L. A.*).

« Le démon de l'homicide » advises an immense and final massacre of the Christians.

« Qu'est-il besoin de délibérer ? Faut-il pour détruire les peuples du Christ d'autres moyens que des bourreaux et des flammes ?... Qu'un *immense et dernier massacre* fasse nager les autels de notre ennemi dans le sang de ses adorateurs... »

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 122-3).

Köhler suggests (p. 51) that this is inspired by Moloch's declaration for open war.

« My sentence is for *open war* ; of wiles,
More inexpert, I boast not »

(*Paradise Lost*, II, p. 372, *E. L. A.*).

Finally the devil submits the universe to his subjects. This may possibly be a recollection of Book 10 of *Paradise Lost*, where Satan returns victorious to hell.

Satan to the council :

« Je vous ai soumis l'univers »

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 122) ;

«now possess,
As lords, a spacious world, to our native Heaven
Little inferior, by my adventure hard
With peril great achiev'd »

(*Paradise Lost*, I, p. 622, *E. L. A.*).

The last point of likeness, which has already been designated by Chateaubriand, is a comparison of hell to the « womb of nature..... » of Milton. The « perhaps » which qualifies the second part of the comparison in Milton is omitted in Chateaubriand. Satan comes down to hell to consult with his followers ;

« régions maudites, tombe et berceau de la mort, où
le temps ne fait point la règle, et qui resteront encore
quand l'univers aura été enlevé ainsi qu'une tente
dressée pour un jour »

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 117).

« This wild abyss

The womb of nature, and perhaps her grave »

(*Paradise Lost*, II, p. 309, *E. L. A.*, cf. Köhler, p. 43).

From the preceding demonstration it is evident that the « merveilleux » plays a far larger part in *Les Martyrs* than in *Les Natchez*, though it still furnishes only the background of the work. What is essential in Milton has become here merely an external framework, a setting, in which Chateaubriand places the actual plot of *Les Martyrs*.

The next large group of borrowings has to do with the epic features of *Paradise Lost*. The opening lines of *Les Martyrs*, « Muse céleste, vous qui inspirâtes le poète de Sorrente et l'aveugle d'Albion » show that Chateaubriand has Milton in mind. M. Dick's comparison of the invocations of the two epics is based on very slight evidence, to our mind. Both the authors have opened their poems with invocations to the Muse in accordance with a tradition, which dates from Homer's time, that would have every epic poem begin in that fashion. Again, in the invocation of Book XII, Chateaubriand recalls the beginning of *Paradise Lost*, though both writers may draw their inspiration from the Bible.

« Esprit-Saint, qui fécondas le vaste abîme en le cou-
vrant de tes ailes, c'est à présent que j'ai besoin de
ton secours ! »

(*Mart.*, XII, p. 173).

« And chiefly thou, *O spirit*, that dost prefer
 Before all temples the upright heart and pure,
 Instruct me, for thou know'st : Thou from the first
 Wast present, and *with mighty wings outspread*
Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss.
And mad'st it pregnant »

(*Paradise Lost*, I, p. 344, *E. L. A.*).

The invocation in Book XXIV states Chateaubriand's relations to his muse in much the same way as Milton has done in Book III of *Paradise Lost*. M. Dick would have Chateaubriand follow Milton blindly here. Would it not be possible for each one to express the same thought independently, since each one had « fallen on evil days » at one time or another in his life ?

In the combat between the Barbares and the Romans our epic element appears in another light. We find the clashing of swords and hiss of darts which characterize the battle between the angels and the devils in *Paradise Lost*, VI, as well as all battles described in epic poetry.

« Au milieu des cris, des insultes, des menaces, *du bruit des épées*, des coups des javelots, *du sifflement des flèches et des dards*, du gémissement des machines de guerre, on n'entend plus la voix des chefs »

(*Mart.*, VI, p. 91).

« Now storming fury rose,
 And clamour such as heard in Heaven till now
 Was never ; *arms on armour clashing* bray'd
 Horrible discord, and the madding wheels
 Of brazen chariots rag'd : dire was the noise
 Of conflict ; over head the *dismal hiss*
Of fiery darts in flaming volleys flew »

(*Paradise Lost*, VI, p. 504, *E. L. A.*).

Another epic touch is the influencing of Hiéroclès by the demon of jealousy in a dream which recalls a similar method of influencing Eve in *Paradise Lost* (IV, p. 456-7, *E. L. A.*, and V, p. 465-6, *E. L. A.*). An additional epic device consists in the transformations of Satan and his satellites, several examples of which occur in *Les Mar-*

tyrs. In Bk. XXIII, 328, Satan becomes Tagès, chief of the sooth-sayers and in *Paradise Lost*, IX, Satan takes on the form of a serpent... Additional examples are these : « Le démon de la fausse sagesse » becomes a sophist (*Mart.*, XVI, 231) ; Satan becomes a centurion who is to arrest Cymodocée (*Mart.*, XVIII, p. 270).

« The formal catalogue and the geographical survey, with its wealth of allusion and reminiscence », says Roberts (*Modern Language Review*, 1910, p. 425-6), « is not infrequent in *Les Martyrs* ». This expedient is used here in addressing the demons who attend the council as well as in *Les Natchez*, as we have seen. A far more elaborate use of this effect is to be found in the various « récits » which occur throughout *Les Martyrs*. This is an old epic device which Milton employs effectively in *Paradise Lost*, allowing Satan, Adam and Eve, Raphael, and Gabriel to give an account of things that have happened or will happen outside the limits of the poem. Within each individual « récit » in Chateaubriand there are reminiscences of *Paradise Lost*. « L'ange des mers » reminds Gabriel of that part of the creation which most concerned him by saying :

« j'étais présent quand il divisa en deux parts les eaux
de l'abîme »

(*Mart.*, XV, p. 222, cf. *Gen.* 1 : 6).

« And God made
The firmament, expanse of liquid, pure,
Transparent, elemental air, diffus'd
In circuit to the uttermost convex
Of this great round ; *partition firm and sure,*
The waters underneath from those above
Dividing »

(*Paradise Lost*, VII, p. 532-3, *E. L. A.*).

L'Ange des mers :

« Il couvrit Léviathan d'une cuirasse de fer et l'envoya se jouer dans ces gouffres... et il les peupla de poissons et d'oiseaux »

(*Mart.*, XV, p. 222).

« There Leviathan,
Hugest of living creatures, on the deep
Stretch'd like a promontory, sleeps or swims »
(*Paradise Lost*, VII, p. 537, *E. L. A.*).

« Let the waters generate
Reptiles with spawn abundant, living soul
And let fowl fly above the earth... »
(*Paradise Lost*, VII, p. 536-7, *E. L. A.*).

It is Eudore, however, who uses this device most frequently. So, in entertaining his father's guests, Cymodocée and Démodocus, he sings of the creation (1) of the world and of the descendants of Adam and Eve, which may be a résumé of Books VII, VIII, XI & XII of *Paradise Lost*, which in turn are inspired by Chapters 1-4 of Genesis (Smead, p. 57). Later, in his recital of his fall from grace, Eudore recalls Adam's banishment from Paradise.

« Ainsi qu'Adam banni du paradis terrestre, je me
trouve seul dans un monde couvert de ronces et
d'épines, et maudit à cause de ma chute »
(*Mart.*, IV, p. 61).

God to Adam :

« Thorns and thistles it [the earth] shall bring thee
forth » (2)
(*Paradise Lost*, X, p. 613, *E. L. A.*).

Continuing the tale of his wanderings, Eudore says :

« Ainsi renaissaient pour moi ces jours du berceau du
monde, alors que le premier homme, exempt de
souillure, voyait les bêtes de la création se jouer
autour de leur roi, et lui demander le nom qu'elles
porteraient au désert »
(*Mart.*, XI, p. 164),

1. *Mart.*, II, pp. 29-30 : « de la lumière qu'une parole a faite » (*Paradise Lost*, VII, 532, *E. L. A.*) ; « la terre produisant les arbres » (*ibid.*, VII, 534) ; « et les animaux » (*ibid.*, VII, 539) ; « l'homme créé à l'image de Dieu » (*ibid.*, VII, 541) ; « Eve tirée du côté d'Adam » (*ibid.*, VIII, 560) ; « les holocaustes de Caïn et d'Abel » (*ibid.*, XI, 657) ; « les jours d'Abraham » (*ibid.*, XII, 677).

2. Compare *Genesis*, 3 : 17.

a passage that recalls these lines from *Paradise Lost* :

« each bird and beast behold
Approaching two and two ; these cowering low
With blandishment : each bird stoop'd on his wing.
I nam'd them as they passed, and understood
Their nature (1) »

(*Paradise Lost*, VIII, p. 556-7, E. L. A.).

The same character introduces another « récit » into his own at this point, namely, that of the hermit Paul. The first point of likeness between this account and that of the angel in *Paradise Lost* is the place whence the vision is seen, says M. Dick (*op. cit.* p. 32-34) :

« ... au lever du jour nous [Paul et Eudore] attei-
gnîmes la pointe la plus élevée du mont Colzim »

(*Mart.*, XI, p. 167).

« It was a hill,
Of *Paradise* the highest... »

(*Paradise Lost*, XI, p. 655, E. L. A.)

which the angel and Adam ascend.

From this vantage point in each case a great expanse of land lies before them.

« Un horizon immense s'étendait en cercle autour de
nous »

(*Mart.*, XI, p. 167).

« from whose top,
The hemisphere of earth, in clearest ken,
Stretch'd out to th'amplest reach of prospect lay »

(*Paradise Lost*, XI, p. 655, E. L. A.).

Besides this similarity of setting there is still another more general one. The Angel in *Paradise Lost*, XI and XII, tells Adam about the future of the race only, whereas Paul reviews for Eudore the past and prophesies the future of Christianity (*Mart.*, XI, p. 167 ff.).

In seeking to explain his religion to Cymodocée,

1. *Genesis*, 2 : 20 a possible common source.

Eudore makes frequent allusions to Adam and Eve. Some of these may have with Milton a common source ; but others come from Milton alone. In speaking of the creation of man, Chateaubriand with Milton has used the Biblical « dust of the ground » (*Gen.* 2 : 7) and has man placed in a garden (*Gen.* 2 : 7). In qualifying the garden, both authors, again, agree with the Bible which made it « *délicieux* ».

« *Delicious Paradise* »

(*Paradise Lost*, IV, p. 435, *E. L. A.*, cf. Köhler, p. 28).

« Lorsque le Tout-Puissant eut formé le premier
homme du limon de la terre, il le plaça dans un
jardin plus *délicieux* que les bois de l'Arcadie »

(*Mart.*, XII, p. 181).

« This said, he form'd thee, Adam ; thee, O man !
Dust of the ground, and in thy nostrils breath'd
The breath of life :
He brought thee into this *delicious grove*,
This garden. »

(*Paradise Lost*, VII, p. 541, *E. L. A.*).

« *Des jardins délicieux s'étendent..... l'onde mysté-
rieuse se partage en divers canaux* »

(*Mart.*, III, p. 34, cf. Köhler, p. 28).

Eudore proceeds with this story and continues to follow Milton in that Adam finds his solitary state wearisome and asks God for a companion. In *Genesis*, 2 : 18, it is God who takes the initiative.

« Bientôt l'homme trouva sa solitude trop profonde,
et pria le Créateur de lui donner une compagne »

(*Mart.*, XII, p. 181).

Adam to God :

« In solitude
What happiness ? who can enjoy alone,
Or, all enjoying, what contentment find ?
.
of fellowship I speak,
Such as I seek, fit to participate
All rational delight »

(*Paradise Lost*, VIII, p. 557-558, *E. L. A.*).

God, therefore, hearing his prayers,

« tira du côté d'Adam une créature divine »

(*Mart.*, XII, p. 181),

as in Milton :

« Who stooping, open'd my left side, and took
From thence a rib, with cordial spirits warm,

. . . !

The rib he form'd and fashion'd with his hands ;
Under his forming hands a creature grew,
Man-like, but different sex ; so lovely fair... »

(*Paradise Lost*, VIII, p. 560, *E. L. A.*).

The relation between this newly-made, fair creature and Adam is expressed in practically the same words by Chateaubriand and Milton.

« Adam était formé pour la puissance et la *valeur*,
Eve pour la *soumission* et les *grâces* »

(*Mart.*, XII, p. 182).

« For contemplation he and *valour* form'd,
For *softness* she and sweet attractive *grace* »

(*Paradise Lost*, IV, p. 440, *E. L. A.*).

The majority of the items which are similar in *Paradise Lost* and *Les Martyrs* in these « récits » are, in the end, of Biblical origin. By way of parenthesis in one of Eudore's speeches we have a statement about the inexplicability of God's ways which has its counterpart in Milton and the Bible and has become a commonplace,

« tant les voies de Dieu sont inexplicables ! »

(*Mart.*, V, p. 69)

Adam :

. « Inexplicable

Thy justice seems »

(*Paradise Lost*, X, p. 631, *E. L. A.*) ;

. « To attain

The highth and depth of thy eternal ways

All human thoughts come short, Supreme of things ! »

(*Paradise Lost*, VIII, p. 558, *E. L. A.*)

•

Likewise, there is interpolated by Chateaubriand in a speech by the demon of jealousy to Satan, an allusion to the crushing of Satan's head by the woman's foot :

« une femme a écrasé ta tête orgueilleuse »

(*Mart.*, XIV, p. 201) (1) ;

« et Satan lui-même, renversé au milieu des ruines de son empire, avait la tête écrasée sous le pied d'une femme »

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 122, cf. *Paradise Lost*, X, p. 613, *E. L. A.*).

In the invocation of *Les Martyrs*, there is, then, some influence of Milton. The struggle between the Barbarians and the Christians in *Les Martyrs* has several points in common with the combat of God and Satan as well as with all epics. In both works the devil carries out his purposes through dreams and through changing his appearance. The conclave is an additional characteristic of the epic, borrowed by Chateaubriand. Finally comes the catalogue of names and places and more especially the recital of adventures in which, as well as in this whole class of borrowings, the Bible plays a large part.

The final group is the same as in *Les Natchez*. Here, there is a decided increase in the number of borrowings from Milton over the number found in the earlier work. In describing a night in Greece,

« C'était une de ces nuits dont les ombres transparentes semblent craindre de cacher le beau ciel de la Grèce : ce n'étaient point des ténèbres, c'était seulement l'absence du jour »

(*Mart.*, I, p. 7).

Chateaubriand seems to have remembered the twilight of heaven described in these words by Milton :

«the face of brightest Heaven had chang'd
To grateful twilight (*for night comes not there*
In darker veil) »

(*Paradise Lost*, V, p. 485, *E. L. A.*).

1. Cf. *Gen.* 3 : 15 ; *Rom.* 16 : 20.

Also an example of the expressions of light is the « colonne de feu et de nuées » which is seen by the Barbarians at the head of the Christian legion in the combat.

« Ils ont conté qu'ils voyaient à la tête de cette légion
une colonne de feu et de nuées..... »

(*Mart.*, VI, p. 93).

This is undoubtedly from Milton :

« Then through the fiery pillar and the cloud,
God looking forth will trouble all his host »

(*Paradise Lost*, XII, p. 680, *E. L. A.*).

Since the Bible states (*Ex.* 3 : 21) distinctly : « by day in a pillar of cloud and by night in a pillar of fire... » Milton also had in mind two distinct things, but Chateaubriand, through his imperfect knowledge of English or imperfect understanding of the passage, has combined the two into « une colonne de feu et de nuées » (1).

This leads us to Chateaubriand's use of more brilliant terms taken from Milton, such as « the flaming chariot wheels » of the Son's living chariot :

« Près de lui est son char vivant, dont les roues lancent
des foudres et des éclairs »

(*Mart.*, III, p. 38) ;

« thou that day
Thy father's dreadful thunder didst not spare,
Nor stop thy flaming chariot-wheels, that shook
Heaven's everlasting frame »

(*Paradise Lost*, III, p. 418, *E. L. A.*) ;

« ...Forth rush'd with whirlwind sound
The chariot of paternal Deity,
Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel undrawn,
(Itself instinct with spirit, but convoy'd

1. Dr. Smead disagrees with this argument, but thinks that Chateaubriand did borrow from Milton here rather than from the Bible because in the *Génie* he speaks of this figure (II^e part., liv. IV, chap. iv, p. 247-8) : « le Dieu des armées marchant dans une nuée obscure à la tête des légions fidèles n'est pas une petite image... »

By four cherubic shapes ; four faces each,
 Had wondrous ; as with stars, their bodies all
 And wings were set with eyes ; with eyes the wheel,
 Of beryl, and careering fires between »

(*Paradise Lost*, VI, p. 518, *E. L. A.*, cf. Köhler, p. 31) ;

as is also the term *living* applied to this chariot,

« Nor less on either side tempestuous fell
 His arrows.
 and from the *living wheels* »

(*Paradise Lost*, VI, p. 521, *E. L. A.*).

Flaming too are the swords of God's army and the
 golden shields are studded with diamonds :

« autour de lui ses immortels compagnons se couvrent
 de leurs cuirasses étincelantes. Les boucliers de
 diamants et d'or, le carquois du Seigneur, les épées
 flamboyantes, sont détachées des portiques éternels »

(*Mart.*, III, p. 42).

« Celestial armoury, shields, helms, spears,
 Hung high with diamond flaming, and with gold »

(*Paradise Lost*, IV, p. 448, *E. L. A.*, cf. Köhler, p. 34).

The walls of heaven itself are made of jasper and
 adorned with sapphires and diamonds. Milton's « living
 sapphire » becomes « architecture vivante » in Chateau-
 briand.

« L'Eternel en posa lui-même les douze fondements,
 et l'environna de cette muraille de *jaspe* que le
 disciple bien-aimé vit mesurer par l'Ange avec une
 toise d'or..... Là règnent suspendues des galeries
 de *saphirs et de diamants*..... Cette architecture est
 vivante »

(*Mart.*, III, p. 33).

Here Chateaubriand has combined three passages from
Paradise Lost :

« Now in loose garlands thick thrown off, the bright
 Pavement, that like a sea of *jasper* shone,
 Impurpled with celestial roses smil'd »

(*Paradise Lost*, III, p. 417, *E. L. A.*) ;

« far distant he describes,
 Ascending by degrees magnificent
 Up to the *wall of Heaven*, a structure high ;
 At top whereof, but far more rich, appear'd
 The work as of a kingly palace gate,
 With frontispiece of *diamond and gold*
 Embellish'd ; thick with *sparkling orient gems*
 The portal shone, inimitable on earth
 By model, or by shading pencil, drawn »

(*Paradise Lost*, III, p. 422, *E. L. A.*).

« Weighs his spread wings [Satan] at leisure to behold
 Far off th'empyrean heav'n, extended wide
 In circuit, undetermin'd square or round,
 With opal tow'rs, and *battlements adorn'd*
 Of *living sapphire*, once his native seat »

(*Paradise Lost*, II, p. 403 4, *E. L. A.*).

Köhler adds (p. 46) the « *cent nœuds de diamant* » with which Satan is held fast in hell, comparing them to the « *adamantine chains* » in Milton used for the same purpose.

« *Lié par cent nœuds de diamant sur un trône de bronze,*
le démon de désespoir domine l'empire des chagrins »

(*Mart.*, VIII, p. 119) ;

« With hideous ruin and combustion down
 To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
 In *adamantine chains* and penal fire »

(*Paradise Lost*, I, p. 345, *E. L. A.*).

In *Les Martyrs* we find the same use of gold made as in *Les Natchez*. In Milton the tree of knowledge is laden with fruit that is « ruddy and gold ». Chateaubriand fails to speak of the fruit of this tree but makes its foliage golden.

The Serpent describes the *tree of knowledge* in these words :
 « A goodly tree far distant I behold
 Loaden with *fruit* of fairest colours mix'd,
Ruddy and gold »

(*Paradise Lost*, IX, p. 586, *E. L. A.*).

In heaven, in *Mart.*, III, p. 34,

« ... l'Arbre de science étend de toutes parts
ses racines profondes et ses rameaux innombrables :
il porte, cachés sous son feuillage d'or, les secrets
de la Divinité..... »

We have elsewhere in *Les Martyrs*, however, « *un citron doré* » which is filled with ashes like the « *fruitage fair to sight* » which the demons plucked.

« ... ils descendaient dans la vallée du Jourdain.
Cymodocée, tourmentée d'une soif dévorante
cueille sur un arbrisseau un fruit semblable à un
citron doré ; mais lorsqu'elle le porte à sa bouche,
elle le trouve rempli d'une cendre amère et calcinée »

(*Mart.*, XIX, p. 280).

« Greedily they pluck'd
The fruitage *fair to sight*.....
. . . . they fondly thinking to allay
Their appetite with gust, instead of fruit
Chew'd bitter ashes »

(*Paradise Lost*, X, p. 625, E. L. A.) (1).

Mention has already been made of the « *balances d'or* » (*Mart.*, XII, p. 175 ; *Paradise Lost*, IV, p. 463, E. L. A.). The golden hinges of the gates of heaven in *Paradise Lost* become in *Les Martyrs* the silver and gold hinges of the doors of the temple.

« Cymodocée contemple en silence les merveilles
chrétiennes ; fille de la Grèce, elle admire les
chefs-d'œuvre des arts créés par la puissance de la
foi au milieu des déserts. Les portes du nouvel
édifice attirent surtout ses regards. Elles étaient
de bronze et roulaient sur *des gonds d'argent et
d'or* »

(*Mart.*, XVII, p. 250).

1. Chateaubriand has already used this in *Les Natchez* ; cf. above p. 32.

« Heaven open'd wide
Her ever-during gates, harmonious sound,
On golden hinges moving »

(*Paradise Lost*, VII, p. 530, *E. L. A.*).

Color again enters into a comparison in *Les Martyrs*, XIII, p. 196, in which the serpent recalls the « play » of the serpent in *Paradise Lost*.

Cymodocée has just taken leave of her father,
« et la Chrétienne désignée se sentait, en dépit d'elle-même, domptée par le génie du père des fables : ainsi, lorsqu'un serpent d'or et d'azur roule au sein d'un pré ses écailles changeantes, il lève une crête de pourpre au milieu des fleurs, darde une triple langue de feu, et lance des regards étincelants »

(*Mart.*, XIII, p. 196).

« He, bolder now, uncall'd before her stood,
But as in gaze admiring ; oft he bow'd
His turret crest, and sleek enamell'd neck,
Fawning, and lick'd the ground whereon she trod.
His gentle dumb expression turn'd at length
The eye of Eve, to mark his play »

(*Paradise Lost*, IX, p. 585, *E. L. A.*).

Another source may have been the author's own *Génie* :

« Tantôt il se forme en cercle, et darde une langue de feu ; tantôt, debout sur l'extrémité de sa queue, il marche dans une attitude perpendiculaire, comme par enchantement. Il se jette en orbe, monte et s'abaisse en spirale, roule ses anneaux comme une onde, circule sur les branches des arbres, glisse sous l'herbe des prairies, ou sur la surface des eaux. Ses couleurs sont aussi peu déterminées que sa marche ; elles changent aux divers aspects de la lumière, et, comme ses mouvements, elles ont le faux brillant et les variétés trompeuses de la séduction ».

(*Génie*, 1^o part., liv. III, chap. II, p. 62).

M. Giraud and M. Gschwind include this passage in their « *Les Variantes des Martyrs* » (*R. H. L.*, 1904, p. 130). The first edition of the *Génie* (T. II, p. 27) has « une crête superbe » which is nearer Milton's « turret crest » than « une tête de pourpre » of the édition Ladvocat, II, p. 183, which adds the color. In the final reading « pourpre » has remained. Other coloring merely suggested by Milton is made definitely « or et azur » in Chateaubriand.

Chateaubriand has adopted in *Les Martyrs* Milton's evident fondness for light, both subdued and brilliant, for precious stones, for metals, and for color. Gold and blue either sapphire or « azur », predominate in these borrowings.

By way of comparison one allusion to the subject treated in *Paradise Lost* enters *Les Martyrs*.

« Depuis le jour où Satan vit la première femme
porter à sa bouche le fruit de mort, il n'avait pas
ressenti une telle joie »

(*Mart.*, XVIII, p. 257).

This may be a reminiscence of the following passage from *Paradise Lost* and may again go back to *Genesis*.

« So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
Forth reaching to the fruit, she pluck'd, she eat ! »

(*Paradise Lost*, IX, p. 593, *E. L. A.*)

Another unclassified example is to be found in Hiérocès's — the villain's — awe when, with Cymodocée finally in his power, he stands for the first time in her presence.

« Hiérocès demeure un moment *interdit* devant l'autorité de l'innocence de la faiblesse et du malheur »

(*Mart.*, XX, p. 297).

This passage resembles that in *Paradise Lost* in which Satan experiences the same feeling at first sight of Eve :

« her heavenly form,
 Angelic, but more soft and feminine,
Her graceful innocence, her every air
 Of gesture, or least action, *overaw'd*
 His malice, and with rapine sweet, bereav'd
 His fierceness of the fierce intent it brought »

(*Paradise Lost*, IX, p. 583, *E. L. A.*).

The robe of innocence is one of the things for which Lasthènes prays, recalling perhaps these words of *Paradise Lost* :

« *innocence, that as veil*
 Had shadow'd them from knowing ill, was gone,
 Just confidence, and native righteousness,
 And honour, from about them, naked left
 To guilty shame »

(*Paradise Lost*, IX, p. 601, *E. L. A.*).

Lasthènes in his evening prayer says :

« Nous allons quitter les vêtements du jour, couvrez-nous, de la *robe d'innocence* et d'immortalité que nous avons perdue par la désobéissance de nos premiers pères »

(*Mart.*, II, p. 23).

The last borrowing, which may here be included, is one suggested by M. Dick. Chateaubriand says in comparing heaven and earth :

« Si l'on peut comparer les grandes choses aux petits objets »

(*Mart.*, III, p. 36).

This, says M. Dick, is taken word for word from Milton's

« *So, if great things with small may be compared* »

(*Paradise Lost*, X, p. 617, *E. L. A.*) ;

but, it is simply the imitation of a well-known line from the *Georgics* (IV, 176) « *si parva licet componere magnis* ». It is hardly possible that Chateaubriand could have taken this line from Milton, since he knew his Virgil

far too well to have to obtain this comparison from a secondary source. This is simply another instance in which M. Dick has made a mistake.

The « merveilleux » is used more extensively than in *Les Natchez*, but it never enters the action of the story and remains always as its background. Though many individual details have been borrowed from Milton, they have lost their original importance. In *Paradise Lost*, God, the angels, Satan, and his followers are well defined characters who play their part in the plot. On the other hand, much that is found in *Paradise Lost* as « récits », takes the same form when borrowed by Chateaubriand. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the « récits » are essential to the whole in *Paradise Lost*, but not to *Les Natchez* and *Les Martyrs*. The only characteristics of the epic found in *Les Natchez*, as well as in *Paradise Lost*, are the council and the accumulation of terms, the latter a peculiarity of style taken over by Chateaubriand. The same things occur in *Les Martyrs* together with additional epic traits, such as the use of invocations. In the description of the battle, moreover, in *Les Martyrs*, Chateaubriand has borrowed from Milton the conventional details of the epic. By using dreams, metamorphoses, and « récits », he has followed in *Les Martyrs* the time-worn path. More detailed likenesses to Milton are found in the body of the various « récits » in *Les Martyrs*, where Chateaubriand uses his predecessor's « grace » and certain other words which are probably Miltonic. It is the picturesque detail which he borrows again in describing heavenly things, using the terms denoting brilliance, colors, and gems. Influence then is external only.

Whereas the influence of Milton on *Les Natchez* and *Les Martyrs* consists of borrowings, which are chiefly external, in the *Génie* it consists of criticism by Chateaubriand of the *Paradis Perdu*. The criticism of Milton, after Chateaubriand's return to France and before the *Génie*, is practically negligible. The English estimate of

Milton is stated in « De l'Angleterre et des Anglais », 1800 (*Voyages et Mélanges littéraires*, p. 332).

« C'est à Dryden et à Milton qu'on donne exclusivement le titre de poètes ».

In 1801 (*Voyages et Mélanges littéraires*, p. 338) Milton is compared favorably with Young.

« Combien *Milton* est supérieur au chantre des *Nuits*, dans la noblesse de la douleur ! Rien n'est beau comme ces quatre vers qui terminent le *Paradis Perdu* ».

In part II of the *Génie*, which treats of *La Poétique du Christianisme* under the « Vue générale des épopées chrétiennes », Chateaubriand discusses *Paradise Lost*. In Book II of this same part he continues with the characters, opposing Adam and Eve to Ulysses and Penelope. He illustrates his points by quoting one or two lines of various passages, some of the best in *Paradise Lost*, and by translating the remainder. Having considered poetry in its relation to man, he proceeds to its relation to supernatural beings. Under this discussion of « le merveilleux », Chateaubriand compares the divinities of Christianity with those of Paganism, using the angels, Satan, and God of *Paradise Lost* as examples of the former. Satan's character is treated in a separate chapter, in which Chateaubriand again includes his translation of certain of those parts of *Paradise Lost* dealing with this character. Chateaubriand continues to speak of these supernatural beings in his chapters on the « Machines poétiques » where he examines « Raphaël au berceau d'Eden », « Satan allant à la découverte de la Création », and « l'entrée de l'enfer ».

If we study these criticisms in detail we find that they present the beauties of *Paradise Lost* as a Christian poem. In the very first chapter of the *Génie*, Chateaubriand says that « le Tasse, *Milton*, Corneille, Racine, Voltaire, vous retracent ses miracles » [du christianisme]

(*Génie*, I^e part., livre I, chap. I, p. 6) and again, in the chapter on *Paradise Lost*... « on y trouve des beautés supérieures, qui tiennent essentiellement à notre religion » (*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. III, p. 157). As a specific beauty he considers Adam's first awakening and reaction to the world about him.

« Rien de plus auguste et de plus intéressant que cette étude des premiers mouvements du cœur de l'homme ».

Then Chateaubriand reviews *Paradise Lost*, VIII (pp. 553 ff., *E. L. A.*) :

« Que Milton est sublime dans ce passage ! Mais se fût-il élevé à ces pensées s'il n'eût connu la religion de Jésus-Christ ? »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. III, p. 158-9, cf. also, *E. L. A.*).

« Le poète continue à développer ces grandes vues de la nature humaine, cette sublime raison du christianisme »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. III, p. 159).

This he does by making Eve's fall due to her « amour propre », just as Scripture always pictures woman as slave of her vanity. After the fall, the angels experience « That sadness mixt with pity [which] did not alter their bliss ». Of this line Chateaubriand says « mot chrétien et d'une tendresse sublime » (*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. III, p. 160). Finally Adam and Eve, conscience stricken, are repentant and pray to God. « Le Très-Haut », says Chateaubriand, « se laisse fléchir, et accorde le salut final de l'homme ».

« Milton s'est emparé avec beaucoup d'art de ce premier mystère des Ecritures ; il a mêlé partout l'histoire d'un Dieu qui, dès le commencement des siècles, se dévoue à la mort pour racheter l'homme de la mort »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. III, p. 162).

In the character of Satan, too, Milton has followed the teachings of Christianity.

« Nous verrons incessamment quel usage Milton a fait du caractère d'orgueil, *donné par le Christianisme* au prince des ténèbres. Le poète, pouvant en outre attacher un ange du mal à chaque vice, dispose ainsi d'un essaim de divinités infernales. Il a même alors la véritable allégorie, sans avoir la sécheresse qui l'accompagne, ces esprits pervers étant en effet des êtres réels, et tels que la religion nous permet de les croire »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. vi, p. 251).

We may conclude with Chateaubriand's statement in the *Défense*,

« *La Jérusalem délivrée, le Paradis perdu, Polyeucte, Esther, Athalie*, sont devenus depuis de véritables apologies en faveur de la beauté de la religion »

(*Défense du Génie*, p. xviii).

As for the subject of *Paradise Lost*,

« Milton ne vous entretient ni de batailles, ni de jeux funèbres, ni de camps, ni de villes assiégées ; il retrace la *première pensée de Dieu*, manifestée dans la création du monde, et les *premières pensées de l'homme* au sortir des mains du Créateur »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. iii, p. 158).

Though creation is the subject of *Paradise Lost*, the objection made about Dante's *Inferno* may apply here, that is, the « merveilleux » is the subject rather than the « machine ».

« On peut reprocher au *Paradis perdu* de Milton ainsi qu'à l'*Enfer* du Dante, le défaut dont nous avons parlé, le merveilleux est le sujet et non la machine de l'ouvrage »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. iii, p. 157).

The *Génie* also contains a contradictory statement :

« Tout est machine et ressort, tout est extérieur, tout est fait pour les yeux dans les tableaux du paganisme ; tout est sentiment et pensée, tout est in-

térieur, tout est créé pour l'âme dans les peintures de la religion chrétienne »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. xvi, p. 275-6).

What, we ask, would be left of *Paradise Lost* if the « merveilleux » were removed, or if it were only « la machine », as Chateaubriand seems to think it should be ? Yet, in the *Génie*, Chateaubriand's concern for *Paradise Lost* is centered in the « merveilleux » itself. The first of the characters considered here is God.

« Le Dieu des armées marchant dans une nuée obscure à la tête des légions fidèles n'est pas une petite image, le glaive exterminateur se dévoilant tout à coup aux yeux de l'impie frappe d'étonnement et de terreur »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. iv, p. 247).

Of God's arch-enemy Chateaubriand says :

« Satan s'appêtant à combattre Michel dans le paradis terrestre est superbe »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. iv, p. 247).

Only once is Chateaubriand adverse in his criticism of the portrayal of the devil. Even here Milton is to be excused since he followed his predecessors and since he soon returns to his grandest manner :

« Entraîné par ces autorités [Dante et le Tasse], Milton a eu le mauvais goût de mesurer son Satan, mais il se relève bientôt d'une manière sublime »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. ix, p. 256).

To prove the final assertion, Chateaubriand translates several passages from *Paradise Lost*, closing with Satan's famous apostrophe to the sun (*Paradise Lost*, Book I). He adds this final statement :

« Milton a fait entrer dans le caractère de son Satan les perversités de ces hommes qui, vers le commencement du xvii^e siècle, couvrirent l'Angleterre de deuil ; on y sent la même obstination, le même

enthousiasme, le même orgueil, le même esprit de rébellion et d'indépendance »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. ix, p. 258).

Milton has put into this character his own experience.

By failing to make Eve perfect, he prepares the way for the catastrophe.

« Cependant Milton n'a pas voulu peindre son Eve parfaite ; il l'a représentée irrésistible par les charmes, mais un peu indiscreète et amante de paroles, afin qu'on prévît le malheur où ce défaut va l'entraîner »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. II, chap. iii, p. 181).

This same character is

« admirablement tracé dans la fatale chute »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. iii, p. 159).

Adam is praised with the single word « majestueux ». Beside him Enée « est un froid et triste personnage » (*Génie*, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. x, p. 259).

In addition to these comments on the characters, we find certain indications of the dramatic or tragic elements in the poem. Later, in the *Essai*, Chateaubriand gives an early plan of Milton's, which made of *Paradise Lost* a tragedy.

« Les adieux d'Hector et d'Andromaque... Didon à Carthage... Adam et Eve, sont de véritables tragédies, où il ne manque que la division des scènes et le nom des interlocuteurs »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. i, p. 154).

To this general statement he adds a few more detailed ones, the first, dealing with the opening of the poem :

« L'ouverture du poème se fait aux enfers, et pourtant ce début n'a rien qui choque la règle de simplicité prescrite par Aristote »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. iii, p. 157).

Of the dialogue between God and Adam after the fall he says :

« Quel dialogue ! cela n'est point d'invention humaine »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. III, p. 160).

Another good scene is that between Adam and Eve,

« dans laquelle on prétend que Milton a consacré un événement de sa vie, un raccommodement entre lui et sa première femme »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. III, p. 161).

The conclusion, says Chateaubriand, is unique, for

« Milton est le premier poète qui ait conclu l'épopée par le malheur du principal personnage, contre la règle généralement adoptée »

(*Génie*, II^e part., l. liv, chap. III, p. 158).

In the *Génie* (I^e part., liv. I, chap. I, p. 7) Chateaubriand says that « Homère vient se placer auprès de Milton ». We are not surprised, then, to find that a great number of Chateaubriand's criticisms are made by way of comparison with the ancients. In the description of hell, Milton is on a level with his predecessors.

« Ni le Dante, ni le Tasse, ni Milton ne sont parfaits dans la peinture des lieux de douleur »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. XIII, p. 268).

In Satan's apostrophe to the Sun, however, he surpasses Homer, for

« Quelle que soit notre admiration pour Homère, nous sommes obligés de convenir qu'il n'a rien de comparable à ce passage de Milton »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. IX, p. 258).

The position of Death at the entrance of hell, is the same in Vergil and Milton ; but the character of Death, as pictured by Milton, is unknown in antiquity.

- « Jamais fantôme n'a été représenté d'une manière plus vague et plus terrible. L'origine de la Mort, racontée par le Péché, la manière dont les échos de l'enfer répètent le nom redoutable... tout cela est une sorte de noir sublime, inconnu de l'antiquité »
 (Génie, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. xiv, p. 269).

The angels, of whom the author speaks as well as of the devils, have the same fault as Homer's gods :

- « de l'une part, et de l'autre part ce sont des divinités pour lesquelles on ne peut craindre, puisqu'elles ne peuvent mourir »
 (Génie, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. iv, p. 247). Cf. Marmontel :

- « Mais quel effet produire sur l'âme des hommes avec de pures intelligences, sans passions, ni vices, ni vertus, qui n'ont plus rien à espérer, à désirer, *ni à craindre*, et dont une tranquillité éternelle est l'immobile élément ? Voyez aussi combien est absurde et puéril, dans le poème de Milton, le péril où il met les anges et leur combat contre les démons ? »

(Marmontel, *Œuvres*, IV, 701).

Of the struggle between these two powers :

- « On ne trouve rien dans l'*Iliade* qui soit supérieur au combat que Satan s'apprête à livrer à Michel dans le Paradis terrestre, ni à la déroute des légions foudroyées par Emmanuel »
 (Génie, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. x, p. 260).

Enlarging upon the final sublime characteristic

- « il n'est rien de plus sublime dans Homère, que le combat d'Emmanuel contre les mauvais anges dans Milton, quand, les précipitant au fond de l'abîme, le Fils de l'homme retient à moitié sa foudre, de peur de les anéantir »
 (Génie, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. iv, p. 248).

From these examples Chateaubriand concludes that the Christian « merveilleux » is not so far below the pagan « merveilleux » as has been generally supposed :

« supposons que le chancre d'Eden fût né en France sous le siècle de Louis XIV, et qu'à la grandeur naturelle de son génie il eût joint le goût de Racine et de Boileau, nous demandons quel fut devenu alors le *Paradis perdu*, et si le merveilleux de ce poème n'eût pas égalé celui de l'*Iliade* et de l'*Odyssée* ? »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. xvi, p. 275).

Pursuing this method of opposing the ancients to Milton, Chateaubriand considers « Eve et Adam, par l'aveugle d'Albion... un assez beau pendant à Ulysse et Pénélope, par l'aveugle de Smyrne » (*Génie*, II^e part., liv. II, p. 176). In the actual comparison it is found that « la simplicité d'Homère est plus ingénue, celle de Milton plus magnifique » (*Génie*, II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 180). Once again Milton is compared to the ancients and found superior, for when, after the fall, Adam, in despair, wishes to die, he entertains some doubt as to the future. Of his expression of these doubts, Chateaubriand says :

« La philosophie ne peut demander un genre de beautés plus élevées et plus graves. Non seulement les poètes antiques n'ont jamais fondé un désespoir sur de pareilles bases, mais les moralistes eux-mêmes n'ont rien d'aussi grand »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. III, p. 161).

The final comparison of the penitent prayers of Adam and Eve to the « prières boiteuses » of the *Iliad*, we shall quote in full in order to show how beautifully Chateaubriand's criticism is expressed.

« On admire les *Prières boiteuses* de l'*Iliade*. Cependant Milton lutte ici sans trop de désavantage contre cette fameuse allégorie ; ces premiers soupirs d'un cœur contrit, qui trouvent la route que tous les soupirs du monde doivent bientôt suivre ; ces humbles vœux qui viennent se mêler à l'encens qui fume devant le Saint des Saints ; ces larmes péni-

tentes qui réjouissent les esprits célestes, ces larmes qui sont offertes à l'Éternel par le Rédempteur du genre humain, ces larmes qui touchent Dieu lui-même (tant a de puissance la première prière de l'homme repentant et malheureux !), toutes ces beautés réunies ont en soi quelque chose de si moral, de si solennel, de si attendrissant, qu'elles ne sont peut-être point effacées par les *Prières* du chantre d'Ilion »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. III).

He seems in this passage to have caught the spirit of Milton and added to it his own personal touch, surpassing Milton in the portrayal of the warmth of vivid emotions.

After the manner of the ancients is the beginning of the « Hail, wedded love » (*E. L. A.*, p. 455, *Paradise Lost*, IV). « Ce magnifique épithalame [commence], sans préparation et par un mouvement inspiré » *Génie*, II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 179). Voltaire's criticism of this passage :

« Comme il n'y a pas d'exemple d'un pareil amour, il n'y en a point d'une pareille poésie »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 180)

is quoted here by Chateaubriand. Another magnificent portion of *Paradise Lost* is the apostrophe to the Sun. It is

« Une des conceptions les plus sublimes et les plus pathétiques qui soient jamais sorties du cerveau d'un poète »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. IX, p. 258).

Of this hymn he writes :

« Lorsque, avec la grandeur du sujet, la beauté de la poésie, l'élévation naturelle des personnages, on montre une connaissance aussi profonde des passions, il ne faut rien demander de plus au génie »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. IX, p. 258).

Of the scene between God and Adam and Eve after the fall, Chateaubriand says :

« nous trouvons dans cette scène de la *Genèse* quelque chose de si extraordinaire et de si grand, qu'elle se dérobe à toutes les explications du critique ; l'*admiration* manque de termes et l'art rentre dans le néant »

(*Génie*, II^e part, liv. I, chap. III, p. 161).

It is chiefly, then, as a Christian poem and as such opposed to the epics of the ancients that Chateaubriand discusses *Paradise Lost* in the *Génie*. Throughout the criticism are scattered passages of the poem, which we shall discuss later under the topic of translation. They are of interest chiefly because they show an earlier stage in the translation of the *Paradis perdu* than that of 1836.

Between the appearance of the *Génie* and that of the *Essai* there is little or no criticism of Milton. In *Les Martyrs* we find that the « dénouement » of the epic is told at the beginning (Examen, p. 369). The sublimity of *Paradise Lost* is again confirmed in these words : « ... je dis que le *Paradis perdu* est aussi une œuvre sublime » (*Mart.*, Examen, p. 367). In this same supplement to *Les Martyrs* is found mention of Addison's criticism of Milton which we will consider later. The next allusion to Milton occurs in the *Mémoires* in a chapter written in 1819 (*M. d'O.-T.*, I, p. 165) when Chateaubriand is recalling his departure to the army. « Alors », he says, « comme Adam après son péché je m'avançai sur la terre inconnue : le monde était tout devant moi : ' and the world was all before him ' (1). In 1822 while in London Chateaubriand was writing the *Mémoires* of his previous sojourn. At the time of the French revolution, he says of the English people's knowledge of their own literature, « Toutefois de grandes

1. An incorrect quotation from *Paradise Lost*, Bk. XII : « The world was all before *them* ».

figures demeuraient. On retrouvait partout Milton et Shakespeare » (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 189).

In the *Essai*, Chateaubriand deals with Milton at greater length, in more detail, including other phases of his work, though the greater part still centers about *Paradise Lost*. He gives an account of Milton's life, believing him to be a man of the nineteenth century in his political ideas (*E. L. A.*, p. 168). For instance, Milton believes firmly in the liberty of the press (*ibid.*). « L'aveugle d'Albion », moreover,

« se plaint aussi d'être venu dans de mauvais jours,
un siècle trop tard. Il craint que... ' cold climate
or years damp my intended-wing deprest ' »

(*E. L. A.*, p. 131).

« Ainsi, toutes les questions générales et particulières,
agitées aujourd'hui chez les peuples du continent
et dans le parlement d'Angleterre, avaient été
traitées et résolues par Milton, dans le sens où notre
siècle les résout. Il a créé jusqu'à la langue consti-
tutionnelle moderne : les mots de *fonctionnaires*,
de *décrets*, de *motions*, etc., sont de lui »

(*E. L. A.*, p. 189).

In his eagerness to praise Milton, Chateaubriand has been too quick to attribute to Milton the words *motion* and *decree*, which, according to the New English Dictionary, date back to 1374 and 1325 respectively. For the word *functionary* the same authority gives no earlier example of use than one from Burke in 1791.

We mistrust Chateaubriand's statements about Milton, the publicist (*cf. E. L. A.*, p. 155) since he finds no publicist in England at that time except Milton who can approach Siéyès, Mirabeau, and Constant and since Siéyès is, as a matter of fact, a decidedly mediocre writer. Chateaubriand names Milton's chief political works and gives a brief criticism of the style of each, adding sometimes a quotation. The *Defensio pro populo Anglicano* gave Milton most fame in his life-time (*ibid.*, p. 174). In December, 1814 (*Mélanges politiques*, p. 61),

he says : « le style latin [of the *Defensio*] est serré, énergique » ; and continues, « souvent à la vigueur de l'expression on reconnaît l'auteur du *Paradis perdu*. Les plaisanteries ne sont pas toujours de bon goût... » The *Iconoclast*, written « avec méthode et clarté », stands out among the other political writings, since the author is there less dominated by his imagination (*E. L. A.*, p. 171). The *Areopagitica*, of which an incomplete translation is inserted, is Milton's best work in English prose (*E. L. A.*, p. 167). Eloquence is the characteristic of the *Seconde défense*.

« N'est-ce pas là ce qu'on appelle aujourd'hui la propagande révolutionnaire éloquentement annoncée ? »

(*E. L. A.*, p. 178).

A part of the *Traité sur le divorce*, too, is included in the *Essai*. Here the « esprit large » of this « ardent champion du divorce » « était contraire à l'esprit anglais qui se renferme dans les cercles de la société pratique » (*E. L. A.*, p. 166). Milton, the aristocratic republican (p. 222), appears everywhere in *Paradise Lost*. The two chambers of his own government appear in his work, in Satan's council (p. 223). Satan and his angels could be Presbyterians who refused to submit to the saints of whom Cromwell is the head (p. 224). In his *Dépêches* to Mazarin and Louis XIV Milton is a great historian (p. 185). Still another criticism of Milton as an historian is to be found in a comment on the style of his *History of England*. This is « mâle, simple, entremêlé de réflexions presque toujours relatives au temps où l'historien écrivait » (*E. L. A.*, p. 193). The story of Lear, which is found in this history and which is translated into French in the *Essai*, is charming. In this, Milton made his style old to preserve the spirit of the chronicles from which he borrows (p. 195). In this episode « Milton s'est plu à lutter avec Shakespeare comme Jacob avec l'Ange » (*E. L. A.*, p. 195). « Milton », he concludes, « aurait pu écrire l'histoire comme Tite-Live et Thucydide » (p. 180).

Moscovie, the last prose work discussed, is an amusing summary of Milton's travels (p. 193).

Chateaubriand gives little attention to the poetical works of Milton in addition to *Paradise Lost*. *The Hymn on the Nativity*, a translation of which appears, is « admirable de rythme et d'un effet inattendu » (p. 157).

« How soon hath time, the subtle thief of youth,
Stol'n on his wing my three and twentieth year !
My hasting days fly on with full career,
But my late spring no bud or blossom shew'th ».

These four lines of one of Milton's youthful « rêveries de nuit dans la forme des stances de Pétrarque » are quoted (p. 158) and translated. *Il Penseroso* and *L'allegro* are two noble efforts of the imagination, according to Chateaubriand (p. 159). Several of the images occurring in these two poems have been borrowed from the *Anatomy of Melancholy* by Burton (1624) (p. 160). Milton writes Latin verse as well as prose, a fact which the charming eclogue to Manso, marquis of Villa proves (p. 161). *Paradise Regained* is considered « une œuvre de lassitude, quoique calme et belle » (p. 202). *Samson Agonistes*, in which Milton figures as Samson, « respire la force et la simplicité antiques ».

At this point in the *Essai*, Chateaubriand turns to a discussion of *Paradise Lost*. « Milton n'avait aucunes données, pour trouver le motif de la révolte de Satan ; il a fallu qu'il tirât tout de son génie » (*E. L. A.*, pp. 209-10). In wishing to praise his favorite poet lavishly, Chateaubriand goes a little too far. Thompson in his *Essays on Milton* (p. 135) says the ultimate source of the combat is Hesiod's description, in the *Theogony*, of Zeus's battle with the Titans. *Rev.* 12 : 7,9 and II, *Peter* II : 4 may also have contributed something to this idea. Though Addison, whom Chateaubriand follows elsewhere, commends Milton's invention, he does not do so in this connection.

Discussing the characters of the poem, Chateaubriand

includes here the Son of God, whom he did not mention in the earlier criticism. This character is « une œuvre dont on n'a pas assez remarqué la perfection » (*E. L. A.*, p. 217). Among the angels there is a great variety of characters. « La peinture que le poète en [de Raphaël, de Michel, et d'Uriel] fait est pleine de pudeur et de grâce » (*E. L. A.*, p. 219). « Le poète connaît familièrement tous ces anges, et vous fait vivre avec eux » (*E. L. A.*, p. 220). These supernatural beings Milton has endowed with infinite beauty. « Milton les a vêtus et représentés d'après les tableaux de ces grands Maîtres [Michel-Ange et Raphaël] ; il les a transportés de la toile dans sa poésie, en leur donnant, avec le secours de la lyre, la parole que le pinceau avait laissée muette sur leurs lèvres » (*ibid.*, p. 220). To the remarkable portrait of Satan discussed in the *Génie*, Chateaubriand here adds another beauty. « Quand Satan lui-même se transforme en Esprit de lumière, le poète répand sur lui toutes les harmonies de son art » (*E. L. A.*, p. 220). This general statement that he is « une incomparable création » is also made in the *Essai*. There follows a quotation from Louis Racine in which the four great monologues of Satan are enumerated. Of Death and Sin, Satan's offspring, « il a fait deux êtres réels et formidables, (*E. L. A.*, p. 221)..... tel est le feu du poète ». Eve, the final character here criticized, recalls the women of Shakespeare in that, « elle a quelque chose d'extrêmement jeune, une naïveté qui touche à l'enfance » (*E. L. A.*, p. 215).

Practically all of the remaining criticism of *Paradise Lost* concerns its style, vocabulary, and language. Remarks of a similar character are made about Milton's works in general, which Chateaubriand seems to have cared little about in the *Génie*. « Milton offre des obscurités grammaticales sans nombre ; il traite sa langue en tyran, viole et méprise les règles » (*E. L. A.*, Avertissement, p. 5). This is the grievance of the man who has spent more than thirty years in preparing a

translation of *Paradis perdu*. « L'invocation du *Paradis perdu* présente toutes ces difficultés réunies : l'inversion suspensive qui jette à la césure du septième vers le ' Sing, Heavenly Muse ', est admirable » (*ibid.*). This invocation is prolonged by interminable sentences which demand effort on the part of the reader and which are « antipathiques à l'esprit français ». Some of this complication is due to the fact that the poem was completed during the blindness of the author (« Remarques », *E. L. A.*, p. 334). « Or il y a des négligences, des répétitions de mots, des cacophonies qu'on n'aperçoit, et pour ainsi dire qu'on n'entend qu'avec l'œil, en parcourant les épreuves » (« Remarques », *E. L. A.*, p. 334). « Dans les sujets, rians et gracieux », however, « Milton est moins difficile à entendre, et sa langue se rapproche davantage de la nôtre ». Since he is not always logical, he is truly difficult to read (*ibid.*, p. 338). These are the obstacles which confront the translator.

One of the beauties of the poem lies in the masterly art with which the author makes known what has preceded the opening of the poem (*E. L. A.*, p. 210). Again, it is Eve's regret at having to leave the flowers of paradise, which she has named, that charms Chateaubriand. This is only « une de ces beautés dont les ouvrages de Milton fourmillent » (*ibid.*, p. 210). The story of the giants, a part of Michael's vision, is marvelously told (*ibid.*, p. 211). In Book XII « ce n'est plus une *vision*, c'est un récit... », in which we find beauties of all kinds (*ibid.*, p. 211). In the last two books of *Paradise Lost* « du plus grand des poètes qu'il était, l'auteur devient le plus grand historien, sans cesser d'être poète » (*ibid.*, p. 210).

In spite of all these beauties there are some defects, of which Chateaubriand says « je ne suis plus blessé des choses qui me choquaient autrefois » (*ibid.*, p. 207). Now « l'artillerie dans le ciel » seems to the critic to rise from « une idée fort naturelle : Milton fait inventer par Satan ce qu'il trouve de pis pour les hommes »

(*ibid.*, p. 207). The jesting of the demons is simply an imitation of the jesting of the heroes of Homer's *Iliad*, which Chateaubriand likes to see « apparaître au travers du *Paradis perdu* » (*E. L. A.*, p. 207). The final defect — that of the demons changed into serpents, who hiss at their ruler — is a caprice, « d'ailleurs étonnamment bien exprimée d'une imagination surabondante » (p. 207). Chateaubriand calls our attention to two instances of bad taste which he can not excuse, i. e., « ce dîner [de fruits] qui ne refroidit pas » and Adam's referring to Eve as « une côte tortueuse qu'il avait de trop ». The last « injure est placée dans un morceau dramatique d'une beauté achevée » (*ibid.*, p. 208). There are in *Paradise Lost* « beautés, défauts, négligences et lassitudes », of which one is aware in reading the poem (*E. L. A.*, Avertissement, p. 5).

Two general statements about his style are made. « L'éloquence forme une des qualités essentielles du talent de l'auteur » (*ibid.*, p. 223). His style is figurative as well as eloquent, « jamais style ne fut plus figuré que celui de Milton » (*E. L. A.*, p. 337, « Remarques »). More specifically, Book IV of *Paradise Lost* contains « vers délicieux » (*E. L. A.*, p. 215). In Book X, « la beauté de la poésie égale la beauté du sentiment » (*ibid.*, p. 219). Of this same book Chateaubriand says « l'expression manque pour louer des choses si divines » (*E. L. A.*, p. 218). Book XI is so well done that « Dante aurait invité Milton, comme un frère, à entrer avec lui dans le groupe des grands poètes » (*ibid.*, p. 211). There are three descriptions which Chateaubriand considers especially beautiful and which we shall consider later. Of his descriptions in general, Chateaubriand says they contain « quelque chose de doux, de velouté, de vaporeux, d'idéal, comme des souvenirs : les soleils couchants..... ont un caractère de mélancolie qu'on ne retrouve nulle part ». Milton is « aussi grand écrivain en prose qu'en vers » (*ibid.*, p. 168). He concludes his article on Milton with these words : « On sent en effet dans ce poème à

travers la passion des légères années, la maturité de l'âge et la gravité du malheur ; ce qui donne au *Paradis perdu* un charme extraordinaire de vieillesse et de jeunesse, d'inquiétude et de paix, de tristesse et de joie, de raison et d'amour ». By far the greater part of the criticism of Milton in the *Essai* deals with the externals of *Paradise Lost*, such as the grammar, language, expression, verse. This matter is emphasized here, though it scarcely appeared in the *Génie* ; because thirty years of work on the translation of *Paradise Lost* would naturally make the author better able to form judgments of these beauties and defects. Since translation was the end of this long period of study, these externals would largely occupy the author's attention.

It is curious to note that Chateaubriand inserts in his criticisms various quotations from English critics, among them Hume, Johnson, and Dryden. According to Telleen, *Milton dans la littérature française*, p. 130, « Johnson, dont la *Vie de Milton* fut traduite en 1805 par Boulard et qui supplanta Addison comme critique de Milton, est plus souvent cité que celui-ci ». Telleen's assertion may be made still more sweeping, for Addison is not once mentioned by name in either the *Génie* or the *Essai* in connection with Milton. In the *Examen* of *Les Martyrs*, however, Chateaubriand says :

« Pope a représenté les poèmes d'Homère sous l'image d'un grand jardin, et Addison se sert de la même comparaison pour le *Paradis perdu* ».

(*Mart.*, Examen, p. 300),

and again :

« Addison et Louis Racine ont fort bien démontré, au sujet du *Paradis perdu*, que c'est l'action et non pas le héros qui fait l'épopée »

(*Mart.*, Examen, p. 385).

There is still further and more convincing evidence both in the *Génie* and the *Essai* that Chateaubriand knew Addison's *Remarques*, which precede a prose

translation of the *Paradis perdu* (1) made in 1767. In the *Génie*, Chateaubriand says :

« on y [dans le *Paradis perdu*] trouve des beautés supérieures qui tiennent essentiellement à notre religion »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. III, p. 157),

which may be compared to Addison's earlier statement :

« je crois qu'il y a dans chaque partie du *Paradis perdu* une magnificence infinie, et un sublime qu'on n'aurait jamais pu trouver dans aucun système païen »

(*Paradis perdu*, Remarques de M. Addison, p. 15).

Again, in speaking of the subject of *Paradise Lost*, Chateaubriand says that the subject of Vergil is undoubtedly great,

« mais que dire du sujet d'un poème qui peint une catastrophe dont nous sommes nous-mêmes les victimes, qui ne nous montre pas le fondateur de telle ou telle société, mais le père du genre humain ? »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. III, p. 158).

Practically the same comparison had been made by Addison :

« Le sujet de Milton est encore plus grand que les deux premiers [*Iliade* et *Enéide*] ; il ne décide pas de la destinée d'un petit nombre de personnes, ou de quelques nations seulement, mais du sort de tout le genre humain..... »

(*Paradis perdu*, Remarques de M. Addison, p. 15).

In the criticism of the handling of the fall, too, there is some slight resemblance in the two.

« Milton, avec le même esprit [qu'a montré Virgile] représente toute la nature troublée au moment où Eve mange du fruit défendu »

(Remarques de M. Addison, p. 76).

1. *Le Paradis perdu* de Milton, poème héroïque, traduit de l'anglais avec les remarques de M. Addison, La Haye, les Frères Vanden Duren, 1767.

« Un esprit ordinaire n'aurait pas manqué de renverser le monde au moment où Eve porte à sa bouche le fruit fatal ; Milton s'est contenté de faire pousser un soupir à la terre qui vient d'enfanter la mort : on est beaucoup plus surpris, parce que cela est beaucoup moins surprenant »

(*Génie*, II^e part, liv. I, chap. III, p. 160).

« Milton a surtout le mérite de l'expression. On connaît les ténèbres visibles, le silence ravi..... Ces *hardiesses*..... »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. I, chap. III, p. 162).

These particular expressions are to be found in a discussion of the fitness of imaginary persons in epics in Addison's *Remarques*. It will be noticed that there, too, « hardis » is applied to these expressions :

« Telles sont encore ces expressions, où décrivant le chant du Rossignol, il ajoute : ' le silence était charmé... ' ainsi je conclus que ces personnages imaginaires ne devaient point être admis pour principaux acteurs. Ils sont trop *hardis*..... »

(*Remarques de M. Addison*, p. 82).

Of « Vénus dans le bois de Carthage », Chateaubriand says :

« Cette poésie, est délicieuse ; mais *le chantre d'Eden en a beaucoup approché* lorsqu'il a peint l'arrivée de l'ange Raphaël au bocage de nos premiers pères »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. x, p. 259).

« Ici, Milton, *presque aussi gracieux que Virgile, l'emporte sur lui par la sainteté et la grandeur*. Raphaël est plus beau que Vénus, Eden plus enchanté que les bois de Carthage, et Enée est un froid et triste personnage auprès du majestueux Adam »

(*Génie*, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. x, p. 259).

This may have been suggested by one of the *Remarques d'Addisson*,

« La réception que les Anges du Paradis terrestre font à Raphaël, sa marche au travers d'une forêt de

parfums, et son apparition à Adam qui le reconnaît de loin, contiennent, toutes les *grâces* dont la Poésie est susceptible »

(*Remarques d'Addisson*, p. 58),

tho in Addison the comparison to Vergil is not made.

In the later *Essai* he borrowed again from Addison but not the same criticisms. First of all the character of the Father is found by both Addison and Chateaubriand to be depicted with fear.

« obscurément tracé..... Il faut admirer la retenue de l'auteur ; il a craint de prêter une parole mortelle à l'Etre impérissable »

(*F. L. A.*, p. 217).

« On peut, à ce que je crois, observer que l'auteur procède avec une espèce de crainte et de tremblement (1), lorsqu'il fait parler le Tout-Puissant ; il n'ose alors donner un plein essor à son imagination, mais il prend le parti de se restreindre aux idées tirées des livres des Théologiens les plus orthodoxes, et aux expressions de l'Ecriture Sainte »

(*Remarques de M. Addison*, p. 46).

One of the descriptions previously mentioned, that of morning, makes one « croire lire un verset des psaumes » (*E. L. A.*, p. 208). Addison has expressed the same sentiment in these words (*Remarques*, p. 75) :

« La description du matin convient parfaitement à un poème divin..... »

Of Adam's description of his first meeting with Eve, Chateaubriand's « Qui a jamais dit ces choses-là ? quel poète a jamais parlé ce langage ? » (*E. L. A.*, p. 214) is equivalent to Addison's (*Remarques*, p. 70)

« Ces incidens merveilleux et plusieurs autres semblables... plairont par la nouveauté et par le naturel... »

1. A Biblical expression. Cf. *Eph.* 6 : 5 ; *Phil.* 2 : 12.

Both Addison (*Remarques*, p. 80) and Chateaubriand (*E. L. A.*, p. 211) admire the hospital « et les différentes espèces de morts » shown by Gabriel to Adam in the final scene of *Paradise Lost*. Milton's abuse of learning is also noted by both critics. Chateaubriand says :

« Le poète abuse un peu de son érudition, mais après tout, mieux vaut être trop instruit que de ne l'être pas assez »

(*E. L. A.*, p. 208)

as, was Shakespeare.

Addison's

« Il pêche encore assez souvent par une ostentation inutile de science »

(*Remarques*, p. 36)

is not so partial a criticism. Concerning the language of *Paradise Lost*, Chateaubriand says it is full of « hébraïsmes, hellénismes, latinismes » (*E. L. A.*, Avertissement, p. 6), which agrees with Addison's statement :

« Milton conformément à la pratique des anciens Poètes, et aux règles d'Aristote, a mêlé quantité de tours latins, grecs, et quelquefois hébraïques dans son Poème »

(*Addison, Remarques*, p. 27).

The art of the poet, too, has a similar criticism in both Chateaubriand and Addison.

« Si l'art du poète se montre quelque part, c'est dans la peinture des amours de nos premiers parents après le péché »

(*E. L. A.*, p. 217).

« L'art de Milton n'est nulle part plus marqué que dans la manière dont il conduit le caractère de nos premiers Pères »

(*Remarques de M. Addison*, p. 79).

Chateaubriand has not borrowed a whole mass of criticism from Addison. He has rather chosen one statement about *Paradise Lost* as a Christian poem, another about the portrayal of a character and so on, enlarged

upon them or included them in a group of his own observations.

In 1839, when Chateaubriand is still occasionally considering Milton in his *Mémoires*, he says of Milton in his « discours » on being elected member of the Academy

« Lorsque Milton publia le *Paradis perdu*, aucune voix ne s'éleva dans les trois royaumes de la Grande-Bretagne pour louer un ouvrage qui, malgré ses nombreux défauts, n'en est pas moins un des plus beaux monuments de l'esprit humain. L'Homère anglais mourut oublié »

(*M. d'O.-T.*, III, p. 34 ff.).

Here he may be recalling Addison's :

« Le *Paradis perdu* est regardé par les meilleurs juges comme la plus grande production de l'esprit humain »

(*Remarques*, p. 51).

In this connection, Chateaubriand mentions « les beautés incorrectes » of Milton (*M. d'O.-T.*, III, p. 39). That same year Chateaubriand wrote (*M. d'O.-T.*, IV, p. 279), « Que sont devenus ces jours éclatants et tumultueux où vécurent Shakespear, Milton, Henri VIII et Elisabeth, Cromwell et Guillaume Pitt et Burke ? » Discussing his own career in Germany, Chateaubriand is led to say : « Dante, Ariosto et Milton n'ont-ils pas aussi bien réussi en politique qu'en poésie ? » (*M. d'O.-T.*, IV, p. 198). In spite of his political « égarements », Milton left notable works because he withdrew from the world to seek in religion comfort and a source of glory (*M. d'O.-T.*, III, p. 35-6). A little before this (*M. d'O.-T.*, III, p. 32), Chateaubriand quotes a part of the second *Défense* of the English nation. Finally, too, he quotes in French a sentence from « *Moscovie* » (*M. d'O.-T.*, III, p. 309). In these, the final comments, as well as in the earliest, Chateaubriand is more interested in the man of politics than in the poet. This may, however, be due to the fact that, during a part of the Revolution

at least and undoubtedly after 1836, Chateaubriand's own activity is political rather than literary.

The *Essai sur la littérature anglaise*, of which the section dealing with Milton forms a very large part, was written as a kind of introductory study to the translation of *Paradise Lost*. M. Boillot, « Chateaubriand théoricien de la traduction », *R. H. L.*, 1912, and M. Dick, « La Traduction du *Paradis perdu* de Chateaubriand », *R. H. L.*, 1910, have studied Chateaubriand as a translator of Milton ; but each one has considered only the final product, the whole *Paradis perdu* which appeared in 1836. M. Boillot, moreover, implies in his article that M. Dick has followed an unjust method in comparing Chateaubriand to his successors in this field of endeavor. He, himself, however, does not take the opposite course. M. Baldensperger alone of the three has taken into consideration a translation preceding that of the *Paradis perdu* of 1836 ; but he has restricted himself to Chateaubriand alone. M. Baldensperger (« A propos de Chateaubriand traducteur », *R. H. L.*, 1913) has called our attention to the fact that Chateaubriand's translations must vary from time to time in the thirty or more years during which he worked at this undertaking. In the *Essai* (p. 326) Chateaubriand says : « Lorsque, au commencement de ma vie, l'Angleterre m'offrit un refuge, je traduisis quelques vers de Milton pour subvenir aux besoins de l'exil ». M. Baldensperger has printed in parallel columns a short passage « le Coucher du soleil » of the *Paradis perdu* « inséré en 1803 dans la Bibliothèque portative des écrivains français de Moysant et Levizac (t. II, p. 199), qui diffère assez peu du morceau plus étendu inséré dans le *Génie* » (II^e part., liv. II, chap. III). M. Baldensperger does not mention the edition of the *Génie* which he has used ; but we would judge that it was later than 1803.

There is still an older form of this same translation in the 1802 or first edition of the *Génie*. In one sentence there is a decided difference between the 1802 edition

and M. Baldensperger's fragment of 1803, which is, practically speaking, the same as in the 1828 edition.

1802 : « Le crépuscule grisâtre avait enveloppé les objets des ombres égales »

(Tome II, p. 65).

1803 fragment and *Génie*, 1828 : « et par degrés un doux crépuscule enveloppait les objets de son ombre uniforme »

(Baldensperger, *R. H. L.*, 1913, p. 428).

Differences have therefore been found between the 1802 and 1828 editions of the *Génie*. In the *Essai sur la littérature anglaise* we find fragments of the *Paradis perdu*. One of these, « Dans leurs regards divers », occurs in the 1802 and 1828 *Génies* as well as in the complete *Paradis perdu*. The *Essai* translation does not always correspond exactly to any one of the other three. For example, notice the following translations :

Paradise Lost, IV : « His fair, large front and eye sublime declar'd.

Absolute rule »

(*E. L. A.*, p. 440).

Génie : « Le front ouvert, l'œil sublime du premier annonce (1828 : annoncent) la puissance absolue »

(1828 : II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 177).

Paradis perdu : « Le beau et large front de l'homme et son œil sublime annoncent la (*E. L. A.*, p. 212, déclaraient sa) suprême puissance ».

Paradise Lost, IV : « Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure »

(*E. L. A.*, p. 440).

Génie : « vérité, sagesse, sainteté rigide et pure ».
1828 : « la vérité, la sagesse, la sainteté rigide et pure »

(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 177).

Paradis perdu : « avec la raison (*E. L. A.*, p. 212 : la vérité), la sagesse, la sainteté sévère et pure ».

There are two instances in which the *Essai* version is nearer Milton than anyone of the others.

Paradise Lost, IV : « So hand in hand they passed »
(*E. L. A.*, p. 441).

Génie : « Ainsi passe, en se tenant par la main »
(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 178).

Paradis perdu : « Ainsi passait ».
E. L. A., p. 212-213, « ainsi en se tenant par la main passait ».

Paradise Lost, IV : « which implied
Subjection »
(*E. L. A.*, p. 441).

Génie : « symbole de la sujétion »
(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 177).

Paradis perdu : « Symbole de la dépendance ».
E. L. A., p. 212 : « ce qui implique la dépendance ».

After a comparison of several passages from the three works, we have come to these conclusions. Our conclusions concern chiefly the first and last of these translations except occasionally when there is a more decided difference between the 1802 and the later *Génie* (1). There are comparatively few cases of exact likeness and these usually occur where there is no other possible translation, or occasionally where in each instance, in spite of the intervening years, the poet has made the same mistake. An example of the first is found in the translation of « erect and tall » (Bk. IV) as « d'une stature droite et élevée » (*E. L. A.*, p. 440) or of « that to me seemed another sky » as « qui me semblait un autre firmament » (*E. L. A.*, p. 445). From the point of view of exactness both the *Génie* and the *Essai* have fallen short in rendering « eldest of things »

1. Chateaubriand used the Glasgow edition of 1776 of *Paradise Lost* for his translation, cf. *Génie*, II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 177, note 1 ; and we have used this same edition, which appears with the final translation in the *Essai*.

as applied to Night by « fille aînée des êtres » (*E. L. A.*, p. 401).

The differences in the word order, in tenses, in nouns, from plural to singular or vice versa, are due in large measure to the writer's determination to give a faithful translation, a purpose that he definitely expressed in the preface to the *Paradis perdu* (p. 329, *E. L. A.*) : « C'est une traduction littérale dans toute la force du terme que j'ai entreprise, une traduction qu'un enfant et un poète pourront suivre sur le texte, ligne à ligne, mot à mot... »

Paradise Lost, I : « And with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs »

(*E. L. A.*, p. 361).

Génie : « et tourmente les rois par la frayeur des révolutions »

(II^e part., liv. IV, chap. III, p. 257).

Paradis perdu : « et par la frayeur des révolutions
tourmente les rois ».

The latter translation renders exactly Milton's word order. The *Génie* translates *yet shone* by « mais encore brillant », whereas the *Paradis perdu* says exactly « brillait encore ». Again :

Paradise Lost, IV : « Now glow'd the firmament
With living sapphires »

(*E. L. A.*, p. 450).

Génie : 1802... « étincelle des vivans saphirs ».

1828 ... « étincela de vivants »

(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 179).

Paradis perdu : « étincela de vivants saphirs ».

The translator corrected his earlier carelessness in 1828. The historic present which he uses consistently in the earlier translation is changed to the imperfect tense. As for change of number of subject and verb, Chateaubriand seems to suffer from the same malady of which he accuses other translators :

« Toutefois les traducteurs ont une singulière monomanie : ils changent les pluriels en singuliers, les singuliers en pluriels, les adjectifs en substantifs, les articles en pronoms, les pronoms en articles »

(E. L. A., *Remarques*, p. 335).

Paradise Lost : « and care
Sat on his faded cheek »

(I, p. 362, E. L. A.).

Génie : « et les *chagrins se montraient* sur ses joues décolorées »

1828 « veillaient... »

(II^e part., liv. IV, chap. ix, p. 257).

Paradis perdu : « et l'inquiétude est assise sur sa joue fanée ».

Paradise Lost : « For softness she and sweet attractive
grace »

(IV, p. 440, E. L. A.).

Génie : « Elle, formée pour la mollesse et les grâces »

1828 : « Elle est formée »

(II^e part. liv. II, chap. III, p. 177).

Paradis perdu : « Elle, pour la mollesse et la grâce séduisante ».

Paradise Lost : « nor shunn'd the sight
Of God or angel »

(IV, p. 441, E. L. A.).

Génie : « Ils n'évitent ni l'œil de Dieu, ni les regards
des Anges »

(II part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 177).

Paradis perdu : « il n'évitait ni la vue de Dieu, ni celle
des anges ».

There is, moreover, still another kind of change of subject :

Paradise Lost : ... « I seek thee, and thee claim,
My other half »

(IV, p. 446, E. L. A.).

Génie : « Ton autre moitié te réclame »

(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 179).

Paradis perdu : « je réclame mon autre moitié ».

Paradise Lost : « Not distant far from thence a murmuring sound
Of waters issued from a cave »
(IV, p. 445, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : 1802 « Non loin de là le bruit d'une onde sortait
du creux d'une roche ».
1828 « Non loin de là une onde murmurait dans
le creux d'une roche »
(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 178).

Paradis perdu : « Non loin de ce lieu, le son murmurant
des eaux sortait d'une grotte ».

It is to be noted that in the last example the 1802 translation is more literal than the intermediate one. Occasionally the 1802 version is more literal than the final one.

Paradise Lost : « With that thy gentle hand
Seized mine »
(IV, p. 446, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : « En parlant ainsi ta douce main saisit la mienne »
(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 179).

Paradis perdu : « De ta douce main tu saisis la mienne »

In another example of this kind, the 1802 version is the only one of the three which translates the word *answering*.

Paradise Lost : « Pleased it return'd as soon with
answering looks
Of sympathy and love »
(IV, p. 446, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : « et la douce apparition revint aussi vite,
avec des regards *réci-proques* [omitted in 1828] de
sympathie et d'amour »
(1828 : 2^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 178).

Paradis perdu : « charmée, elle revint aussitôt avec
des regards de sympathie et d'amour ».

Again, the *Génie* translates *his broad shoulders* as *ses larges épaules*, whereas the *Paradis perdu* reads *ses fortes épaules*.

The first edition often shows slightly inexact translations such as these :

Paradise Lost : « Farewell, happy fields

Where joy forever dwells »

(I, p. 351-2, *E. L. A.*)

Génie : « Adieu, champs fortunés, qu'habitent les joies éternelles ».

Paradis perdu : « Adieu, champs fortunés, où la joie habite pour toujours ! »

Paradise Lost : « The sun new-risen »

(I, p. 362, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : « le soleil levant ».

Paradis perdu : « le soleil nouvellement levé ».

Paradise Lost : « Part of my soul »

(IV, p. 446, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : « O moitié de mon âme ».

Paradis perdu : « Partie de mon âme ».

Occasionally there is a more serious inexactness. So, for instance :

Paradise Lost : « unveiled her peerless light »

(IV, p. 450, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : « répandit sa tendre lumière ».

Paradis perdu : « dévoila sa lumière incomparable ».

Three different translations of the following clause occur :

Paradise Lost : « and twilight gray

Had in her sober livery all things clad »

(*ibid.*).

Génie : 1802 « Le crépuscule grisâtre avait enveloppé les objets de ses ombres égales ».

1828 « et par degrés un doux crépuscule enveloppait les objets de son ombre uniforme »

(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 179).

Paradis perdu : « et le crépuscule grisâtre avait revêtu tous les objets de sa grave livrée ».

« Par degrés » is inserted in 1828 ; and « sober livery » is translated in a different way, though retaining the same idea expressed in 1802. In another passage, the 1802 version translates « left » by « laissa » but adds « à la gauche du monde » which points to a possible blunder on the part of the young translator.

Paradise Lost : « or this less voluble earth,
By shorter flight to th'east, had left
him there »

(IV, p. 450, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : « soit que la terre, moins rapide, se retirant dans l'Orient, par un plus court chemin, eût laissé l'astre du jour à la gauche du monde »

(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 179).

Paradis perdu : « soit que la terre moins vite, par une fuite plus courte vers l'est, eût laissé là le soleil. »

« On nous pardonnera la hardiesse des *tours* dont nous nous sommes servi, en faveur de la lutte contre le texte. Nous avons fait aussi disparaître quelques traits de mauvais goût, en particulier la comparaison allégorique du sourire de Jupiter, que nous avons remplacée par son sens propre » (*Génie*, II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 179, note 1). This particular passage seems to be a difficult one for Chateaubriand, for here again he has three translations for one clause.

Paradise Lost : « as Jupiter
On Juno smiles, when he impregns
the clouds
That shed May-flowers »

(IV, p. 447, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : « tel est le sourire que le ciel laisse au printemps tomber sur les nuées, et qui imprègne de vie ces nuées remplies (1828 : fait couler la vie dans ces nuées grosses) de la semence des fleurs »

(1828 : II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 179).

Paradis perdu : « comme Jupiter sourit à Junon
lorsqu'il féconde les nuages qui répandent les
fleurs de mai ».

According to the standards of « bon goût » of the eighteenth century, Chateaubriand has also made use of conventional paraphrases such as « la reine des nuits » which he has later cut to « la lune ». Good eighteenth century parlance favored « les espaces célestes » of the *Génie* rather than « l'étendue du ciel » of the *Paradis perdu* and « les esprits immortels » rather than « les dieux ». « Puiser dans le flanc » is a « noble » expression compared to the later « prêter du côté ».

Paradise Lost : « to give the [e] being, I lent
Out of my side to thee, nearest my heart,
Substantial life »

(IV, p. 446, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : « j'ai puisé dans mon flanc la vie plus près de
mon cœur »

(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 179).

Paradis perdu : « je t'ai prêté de mon propre côté, du
plus près de mon cœur, la substance et la vie »

(p. 446, *E. L. A.*).

The earlier translation is decidedly the more conventional of the two in this passage :

Paradise Lost : « She all night long her amorous des-
cant sung »

(IV, p. 450, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : « il remplissait la nuit de ses plaintes amou-
reuses »

(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 179).

Paradis perdu : « toute la nuit il chanta sa complainte
amoureuse ».

As in the translations of Smith, omissions are made in the *Génie*, for clearness and to avoid repetition.

Paradise Lost : « and, with eyes
Of conjugal attraction unprov'd »

(IV, p. 446, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : « Avec des regards pleins d'amour »

(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 179).

Paradis perdu : « et avec des regards pleins d'un charme
conjugal non repoussé ».

Paradise Lost : « What thou seest,
What there thou seest, fair creature,
is thyself »

(IV, p. 446, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : « l'objet que tu vois, belle créature, est toi-
même »

(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 178).

Paradis perdu : « Ce que tu vois, belle créature, ce que
tu vois là, est toi-même ».

In like manner additions are made by way of explanation or completion of the thought, or to round out the period.

Paradise Lost : « yet shone
Above them all the archangel »
(I, p. 362, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : « au-dessus de tous les (1828 : des) compagnons
de sa chute »

(1828 : II^e part., liv. IV, chap. IX, p. 257).

Paradis perdu : « au-dessus de tous ses compagnons »

Paradise Lost : « What could I do »
(IV, p. 446, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : « Que pouvais-je faire après ces paroles ? »
(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 178).

Paradis perdu : « Que pouvais-je faire ? »

Paradise Lost : « So pass'd they naked on »
(IV, p. 441, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : « Ainsi marchent nus ces deux grands époux
dans Eden solitaire »

(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 177).

Paradis perdu : « Ainsi passait le couple nu ».

In an almost negligible number of examples the *Génie* translation has a certain Romantic touch. This

might account for the « fantôme » of the following passage :

Paradise Lost : « Than that smooth watery image »
(IV, p. 446, *E. L. A.*) ;

Génie : « que le gracieux fantôme enchaîné dans les
replis (1828 : le repli) de l'onde »
(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 178) ;

Paradis perdu : « que cette molle image des eaux » ;

as well as for the « solitudes » which are lacking in Milton and omitted in the 1828 and 1836 translations.

Paradise Lost : « cry'dst aloud »
(IV, p. 446, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : « et élevant la voix, tu t'écrias parmi toutes
les solitudes » (last phrase omitted in 1828)
(II^e part., liv. II, chap. III, p. 178).

Paradis perdu : « et tu t'écries ».

A subjective element, which is not present in Milton or in the later translations, enters the *Génie*.

Paradise Lost : « Hail, horrors ; hail,
Infernal world ! »
(I, p. 352, *E. L. A.*)

Génie : « Horreurs ! Je vous salue / je vous salue, monde
infernal ! »
(II^e part., liv. IV, chap. IX, p. 256).

Paradis perdu : « salut, horreurs ! salut ».

Paradise Lost : « And banish'd from man's life his
happiest life,
Simplicity and spotless innocence ! »
(IV, p. 444, *E. L. A.*).

Génie : « Ah ! vous avez banni de notre vie ce qui seul
est la véritable vie, la simplicité et l'innocence »
(II^e part., liv. I, chap. III, p. 177).

Paradis perdu : « Vous avez banni de la vie de l'homme
sa plus heureuse vie, la simplicité et l'innocence
sans tache ! »

The *Génie* translation is on the whole under the influence of the eighteenth century conventions in its omissions, additions, paraphrases, and general use of « mots nobles ». Occasionally it has hit upon a better meaning than the later translation. More often it has failed to interpret the English correctly.

The three-fold influence of Milton shows that Chateaubriand was interested in him from the time of his exile in London to 1839, for a period of almost fifty years. During his exile Chateaubriand learned to know this great English poet as a man interested in politics, as a « publiciste ». He did, however, know something of Milton's literary works, as he has said that he translated some parts of *Paradise Lost* at this time. Another reason for our believing that Chateaubriand knew *Paradise Lost* at the time of his sojourn in England is that *Les Natchez* shows some borrowings of a superficial nature from this epic. In the *Génie du Christianisme*, also begun in England and published in 1802, there appear translations of portions of *Paradise Lost* as well as criticisms of the author. The latter concern those parts of *Paradise Lost* which reveal the beauties of the Christian religion. The translations of the *Génie* are decidedly conventional in vocabulary and for that reason fail often to express Milton's thoughts. Chateaubriand's attention seems to be fixed upon the French of his translation rather than on expressing the thought of the English, though he does usually convey this in a general way. This early translation also shows an inexact knowledge of English, which is largely remedied in the final *Paradis perdu* of 1836. There, too, the author has submerged himself completely and has reproduced, on the whole, quite faithfully the work of his much admired poet. To go back to his borrowings from Milton, these occur far more frequently in *Les Martyrs* than in *Les Natchez*, though they remain of a superficial nature, consisting only of technical, stylistic devices, together with certain picturesque details and of a background of the Christian

« merveilleux ». The final lengthy criticism of Milton appears in the *Essai sur la Littérature anglaise*, which emphasizes Milton's general style and that of *Paradise Lost* and the beauties of the versification, subject, and art of the poem.

« Ainsi donc, dans le premier volume des *Natchez*, on trouvera le merveilleux, et le merveilleux de toutes les espèces : le merveilleux chrétien..... » (Préface, p. 158) and this element, as has been shown, disappears with few exceptions from the second part. One book devoted to heaven has its counterpart in *Les Martyrs* in which the author has sought to show that « le merveilleux de cette religion [la religion chrétienne] pouvait peut-être lutter contre le merveilleux emprunté de la mythologie » (*Mart.*, Préface, p. v). Details about the heaven of the *Natchez* and the hell of the *Martyrs* seem to have their sources in *Paradise Lost*. Occasional intervention of demons and angels is found throughout both of Chateaubriand's books. Aside from this, the outstanding likenesses lie in a few words and a few comparisons, either apt, or impressive because of their brilliance. In conformity with an age old custom of epic writers, Chateaubriand and Milton have made use of invocations, battles, dreams, and transformation. Enumerations are of various types, a listing of names or titles, in address or not, « récits » upon « récits ». In addition to these general likenesses to the Miltonic epic, there are a number of detailed resemblances. Nothing of great consequence has been borrowed from Milton ; merely a little here and a little there, all of which added together is not of great extent when compared to the whole work of Chateaubriand. With terms of light we come to a class of borrowings that vary from a luminous night in Greece to the gold of the heavenly swords and to chariots studded with sapphires and diamonds. Terms of color also fall under this heading ; and here we find that a color merely suggested by Milton is transformed by Chateaubriand into a specific color. Chateaubriand

has also taken over Milton's fondness for stones, whether they be of a less precious variety, such as jasper, or the [more brilliant « living sapphire », diamond, and gold. Frequently only the more striking elements have been chosen and even gold, which had been preferred elsewhere, is rejected.

With the passing of youthful religious ardor and the coming of increasing interest in politics and continued study of Milton in connection with translation, the comments on Milton and *Paradise Lost* increase in number and change in character. As has been shown, they are of a more or less external nature and they include comment on the political writings of Milton. In several cases where lavish praise is given, it is without grounds. In the course of the criticism fewer comparisons are made with the ancients as was his custom in the *Génie*, and more with modern writers and artists, such as Raphaël, Shakespeare, and Louis Racine.

In this connection we have noticed that certain comments in the *Génie* and in the *Essai* seem to have their origin in Addison's *Remarks* a translation of which had preceded the prose translation of *Paradise Lost* that appeared in 1767. When Addison has hit upon a fitting word, Chateaubriand has taken it over in his comment, as for instance his applying the word « hardiesses » to certain expressions, and the word « grâce » to Raphaël's approach to Eden. When, on the other hand, Addison makes a general statement, Chateaubriand, in using it, will give its precise application. In adverse criticisms, finally, Chateaubriand is never as severe as Addison and he can almost always find an excuse for his much admired predecessor.

Of the three persons who have studied Chateaubriand's translation of Milton, M. Baldensperger alone takes into consideration the fact that the *Paradis perdu* of 1836 came into being slowly and therefore differed at the various stages of its progress, altogether four in number. He has, however, compared only a few passages and he

has not gone back as far as the first edition of the *Génie*. The earliest translation is characterized by inexactnesses, more or less serious, by omissions for the sake of clearness, for the avoidance of repetition and for the preservation of « bon goût », by additions necessary for the completion of thought, by occasional romantic touches. Rarely, only, and then because of continued misunderstanding, or of only one possible interpretation, are the *Génie* and *Paradis perdu* versions alike. Still more rarely does it happen that the early translation is more literal than the final one. The many changes in the latter are due to the translator's avowed purpose in 1836 to make a literal translation. Except for a few passages, the version of 1802 is, then, inferior to that of 1836. The latter translation is almost completely faithful to the original.

CHAPTER III

« Ossian n'est pas seulement à cette époque le poète favori du maître, le chantre officiel de ses louanges, celui qui prête sa voix à l'enthousiasme et à l'adulation, il ne se borne pas à inspirer les faiseurs d'odes, de poèmes et de romances à donner le ton aux musiciens, à paraître sur la scène et à figurer dans la peinture. Le Barde a des beautés moins pompeuses et des charmes plus secrets. Il sait aussi parler à voix basse, et ses chants ont une vertu discrète qui leur ouvre les âmes : surtout les âmes timides, fières ou déçues de ceux qui redoutent et fuient le monde, et que le fracas de l'apothéose impériale laisse indifférents ou dédaigneux. Rêveurs, solitaires, voyageurs ils vivent en dehors du grand courant de vogue et de popularité qui à cette heure même porte Ossian aux suprêmes honneurs ; ils le lisent à l'écart et dans le recueillement : ils l'aiment, non parce qu'il est à la mode, mais parce qu'il a su toucher leurs cœurs » (Van Tieghem, II, p. 166). This statement, which M. Van Tieghem applies to the general public's knowledge of Ossian in France before the time of the author whom we are studying, can be applied specifically to Chateaubriand. We have already seen how eagerly he read Ossian and his imitators and translated the best of these before 1800.

His imitations appear in *Les Natchez*, *Atala*, *René*, and *Les Martyrs*. It is the ruggedness and the wildness of primitive nature and the deserted expanse (1) of

1. Cf. « Le désert qui déroulait maintenant devant nous ses solitudes démesurées » (*Atala*, p. 38).

land or sea that Chateaubriand has taken from Ossian. All the outstanding features of Ossianic landscape, rocks, sea, torrents, oak trees, mists, are to be found in these works of Chateaubriand. In *Les Natchez* we read of « une brume froide et humide » and again of « une brume jaune et immobile » (VII, p. 267). It is of this same country, to which Chactas returns after his exile in France, that we read « Des brouillards couvrirent la terre et la mer » (*Les Natchez*, VIII, p. 278). Very effective is the use of mist, which is helpful to Céluta's plan of stealing « la gerbe fatale » from the temple of Athaënsic (*Les Natchez*, p. 492). « Quittant l'asile funèbre, elle traverse les campagnes que couvrait un brouillard..... »

Though this all-covering mist is one of the features of Ossian's landscape, as it is at times in Chateaubriand, occasionally it clears sufficiently for the reader to distinguish other elements. Chief among these are the rocks on top of one of which Ondouré calls a meeting of all the Indians (*Les Natchez*, p. 443).

« Sur la côte septentrionale du lac Supérieur s'élève une roche d'une hauteur prodigieuse ».

In another example from *Les Natchez* the rocks are moss-covered and over them dash mountain streams.

« Je traversai des vallées de pierres revêtues de mousse et au fond desquelles coulaient des torrents d'eau demi-glacés »

(*Les Natchez*, VIII, p. 271).

Elsewhere in *Les Natchez* the author appeals to the rocks, a part of a vast desert, to receive him and care for him far from the corruption of men.

« Déserts et vous, rochers ! venez à moi ! prenez-moi dans votre sein, afin que, nourri loin de la corruption des hommes, je puisse au sortir de cette misérable vie, monter au séjour de l'éternelle science et de la souveraine beauté ! »

(*Les Natchez*, IV, p. 214).

On one great rock in a similar atmosphere of solitude
« le père Aubry » makes his abode.

« Il y a trente ans que j'habite *cette solitude*, et il
y aura demain vingt-deux que j'ai pris possession
de ce *rocher* »

(*Atala*, p. 49).

When the hermit celebrates mass for his flock, he
uses a rock for an altar.

« L'autel se prépare sur un *quartier de roche*, l'eau se
puise dans le *torrent voisin* »

(*Atala*, p. 53).

To the primitive people of père Aubry's mission,
though they are Christianized, all nature is inhabited
with sprites and phantoms, even as in the land of Ossian.
Thus the rocks of Chateaubriand's landscape are some-
times « taillés en forme de fantômes » (*Atala*, p. 76). In
Les Martyrs, the voices of « fantômes » are heard about
the great and solitary rocks known as « pierres drui-
diques », for which our Breton author may also have
drawn on his recollection of the numerous stones of this
kind in Brittany.

« A l'extrémité d'une côte dangereuse, sur une grève
où croissent à peine quelques herbes dans un sable
stérile, s'élève une longue suite de *pierres druidiques*,
semblables à ce tombeau où j'avais jadis rencontré
Velléda. Battues des vents, des pluies et des flots,
elles *sont là solitaires*, entre la mer, la terre et le ciel.
Leur origine et leur destination sont également
inconnues. Monuments de la science des Druides,
retracent-elles quelques secrets de l'astronomie,
ou quelques mystères de la Divinité ? On l'ignore...
Ils disent qu'on y voit des *feux errants*, et qu'on y
entend la *voix des fantômes* »

(*Mart.*, X, p. 149).

A « Dolmen » marks a warrior's tomb in *Les Martyrs*.

« A l'extrémité de cette arène s'élevait *une de ces
roches isolées* que les Gaulois appellent *Dolmen*,
et qui marque le tombeau de quelque guerrier »

(*Mart.*, IX, p. 135).

« Un mont de qui le sommet est planté de roches aiguës » is another feature of Ossianic nature that passes over into a description which reads :

« Un mont... *un torrent* qui se replie vingt-deux fois sur lui-même et déchire son lit en s'écoulant, forment de ce côté la barrière de l'Etrurie »

(*Mart.*, V, p. 80).

In the invocation to the Muse at the beginning of Book XXIV of *Les Martyrs* Chateaubriand recalls his discovery of the cloud-capped mountains of Morven.

« A quel bord n'as-tu pas conduit mes rêveries ou mes malheurs ? Porté sur ton aile, j'ai découvert au milieu des nuages les montagnes désolées de Morven, j'ai pénétré les forêts d'Erminsul... »

(*Les Martyrs*, XXIV, p. 345).

In Eudore's description of a part of Italy, which may contain a reminiscence of Ossian, the mountains have dwindled to « monticules », but are still surrounded by « rochers » and « cascades ».

« Des vallons étroits, des monticules tapissés de bruyère... d'une part, des arbres centenaires, des cascades qui tombent depuis des siècles, des rochers vainqueurs du temps et d'Annibal »

(*Mart.*, V, p. 80).

These hillocks covered with heaths lead us to the « grandes bruyères » of *René* which also are a part of the misty north.

« Le jour », says René, « je m'égarais sur de grandes bruyères terminées par des forêts »

(*René*, p. 94).

A forest of pines crowns the top of the huge rock on which the Indians meet (*Les Natchez*, p. 443).

At the foot of the rock lies a lake (1), the most placid body of water common to Chateaubriand and Ossian.

1. Cf. *Mart.*, IX, p. 133. « Le château où Eudore commandait était bâti sur un roc, appuyé contre une forêt, et baigné par un lac ».

« Le lac s'étend comme une mer sans bornes » (*Les Natchez*, p. 443). Into it dashes a mountain stream of a kind numerous in our author's works. A little less wild, perhaps, is the « source d'eau vive » found at the very beginning of *Les Martyrs* near which Cymodocée takes refuge when she has lost her way.

« Une source d'eau vive, environnée de hauts peupliers,
tombait à grands flots d'une roche élevée »

(*Mart.*, I, p. 8).

The « torrents » (1) of *Atala* enter a curious passage which is a word for word translation of a sentence from *Fingal*.

Chactas :

« Mon père avait aussi une belle hutte, et ses chevreuils
buvèrent les eaux de mille torrents »

(*Atala*, p. 27-8).

« Comal was a son of Albion ; the chief of an hundred
hills ! His deer drunk of a thousand streams »

(*Ossian II : Fingal*, Bk. II, p. 84).

The peculiar sound produced by the waters of one of these streams is mingled with the « roucoulements de la colombe de Virginie » (*Atala*, p. 70). A less soothing sound is that produced by the « lumb » of *Les Martyrs*, or the « sea-fowl », as it is called in *Ossian*.

« Le triste oiseau des écueils, le lumb, fait entendre
sa plainte semblable au cri de détresse d'un homme
qui se noie »

(*Mart.*, X, p. 151).

The curious word « lumb » which Chateaubriand uses is a seventeenth century English word (*cf.* Murray, *N. E. D.* under « loom ») « a name given in northern seas to a species of the guillemot and the diver ». (The earliest example of the use of this word by the *N. E. D.* is taken from a seventeenth century book of travels by

1. *Cf.* « la cataracte de Niagara », *Atala*, p. 75.

Narborough. We know that the young Chateaubriand with his friend M. Malesherbes enjoyed reading accounts of journeys to America. It is quite possible that he read still other tales of travel besides those touching directly on America ; and he may have come across the word in this way.) The cry of another sea-bird charms Eudore, the listener. « Ces sons entrecoupés par des silences, par le murmure de la forêt et de la mer, par le cri du courlis et de l'alouette marine, avaient quelque chose d'enchanté et de sauvage » (*Les Martyrs*, X, p. 146).

The winds, too, contribute their share to Nature's sounds.

« Un soir, je rêvais », says Eudore, « dans ce lieu [« ce sanctuaire plein du souvenir de l'antique race des Celtes »]. *L'Aquilon mugissait au loin*, et arrachait du tronc des arbres des touffes de lierre et de mousse »

(*Mart.*, X, p. 144).

The winds and streams join their voices at times.

« Il me dit le lendemain que c'était assez sa coutume, même pendant l'hiver, aimant à voir les forêts balancer leurs cimes dépouillées, les nuages voler dans les cieux, et à *entendre les vents et les torrents gronder dans la solitude* »

(*Atala*, p. 50).

« On entendait le *concert* (1) *lointain des torrents et des sources* qui descendent des monts de l'Arcadie »

(*Mart.*, XII, p. 179).

A final passage from *Les Martyrs* includes many of the elements enumerated and may, therefore, serve as a conclusion.

« L'Armorique ne m'offrit que des bruyères, des bois, des vallées étroites et profondes traversées de petites rivières que ne remonte point le navigateur,

1. Another example :

« Vers la seconde veille de la nuit, n'entendant plus que le *bruit d'un torrent dans les montagnes* » (*Mart.*, VII, p. 103). The sound of the ocean waves is also heard in *René*, p. 89.

et qui portent à la mer des eaux inconnues ; région solitaire, triste, orageuse, enveloppée de brouillards, retentissante du bruit des vents, et dont les côtes hérissées de rochers sont battues d'un océan sauvage »

(*Mart.*, IX, p. 133).

The heroes of Ossian and the characters of Chateaubriand's works look at a country such as this, deserted except for the weird birds, or, more usually at some expanse of water. This attitude of the « rêveur », or « penseur », is a favorite one in Ossian and Chateaubriand.

« Qu'il fallait peu de chose à ma rêverie !..... la mousse qui tremblait au souffle du nord sur le tronc d'un chêne, une roche écartée, un étang désert où le jonc flétri murmurait ! »

(*René*, p. 94).

One popular spot for the « rêveur » in Ossian and Chateaubriand is on a rock opposite a body of water. In *Les Natchez*, Outougamiz occupies this position in front of a lake just at the point where a « torrent » empties into it.

« Outougamiz demeura assis sur la pointe du rocher, en face du lac, à l'endroit où le torrent, quittant la terre, s'élançait dans l'abîme..... Les flots du lac poussés par le vent, mordaient leurs rivages... partout des déserts autour de cette mer intérieure, elle-même solitude vaste et profonde ; partout l'absence des hommes et la présence de Dieu. Le coude appuyé sur son genou, la tête posée dans sa main, les pieds pendants sur l'abîme... »

(*Les Natchez*, p. 455).

In this deserted spot, Outougamiz is lost in thought. The same attitude is that of the old man whom Chactas finds looking out upon the ocean.

« Un soir j'errais sur les grèves ; mes yeux, parcourant l'étendue des flots, tâchaient de découvrir dans le lointain, les côtes de ma patrie..... Je découvris

à sa lumière un *vieillard assis sur un rocher*. Les flots calmes expiraient aux pieds de ce vieillard comme aux pieds de leur maître »

(*Les Natchez*, V, p. 226).

This also is the position in which we find René.

« Je vole *sur le rivage où tout était désert*, et où l'on n'entendait que le rugissement des flots. Je *m'assieds sur un rocher* » (1)

(*René*, p. 107).

Utter peace and contentment is the picture we have of Cymodocée and her father, who occupy a similar spot, (when calm prevails on the sea, we feel certain) and sing.

« Souvent *assis avec cette fille chérie sur un rocher élevé, au bord de la mer, ils chantaient* quelques morceaux choisis de *l'Iliade* et de *l'Odyssée* »

(*Mart.*, I, p. 5).

A great contrast to this quiet scene is that which is described in the following passage, which is taken from the Velléda episode :

« Elle me prit par la main, et me conduisit *sur la pointe la plus élevée du dernier rocher druidique*. La mer se brisait au-dessous de nous parmi des écueils avec un bruit horrible. Ses tourbillons poussés par le vent, s'élançaient contre le rocher, et nous couvraient d'écume et d'étincelles de feu. Des nuages volaient dans le ciel sur la face de la lune, qui semblait courir rapidement à travers ce chaos »

(*Mart.*, X, p. 150).

A much quoted passage from *René* shows the hero seated on some moss-covered rocks in the midst of a scene which resembles strongly the ancient land of Morven, now so changed by Christianity.

« Sur les monts de la Calédonie, le dernier barde qu'on ait ouï dans ces déserts me chanta les poèmes dont

1. Cf. *René*, p. 109, « On montre encore *un rocher où il allait s'asseoir* au soleil couchant ».

un héros consolait jadis sa vieillesse. *Nous étions assis sur quatre pierres rongées de mousse*, un torrent coulait à nos pieds, le chevreuil paissait à quelque distance parmi les débris d'une tour, et le vent des mers sifflait sur la bruyère de Cona. Maintenant la religion chrétienne, fille aussi des hautes montagnes, a placé des croix sur les monuments des héros de Morven, et touche la harpe de David au bord du même torrent où Ossian fit gémir la sienne. Aussi pacifique que les divinités de Selma étaient guerrières, elle garde des troupeaux où Fingal livrait des anges de paix dans les nuages qu'habitaient des fantômes homicides »

(*René*, p. 89).

A slight variation is found in another part of *Les Martyrs* where Eudore, the speaker, seats himself on a hill overlooking the sea.

« ... J'allai m'asseoir sur une haute colline d'où l'on apercevait le détroit britannique..... je regardais la vaste étendue des flots »

(*Les Martyrs*, X, p. 146).

Another position, extremely common in Ossian, for the person who is deep in thought is at the foot of a tree. So in *Les Natchez* we find Chactas at the foot of a magnolia.

Chactas :

« Je m'assis au pied du magnolia, et je m'entretins avec la foule de mes souvenirs »

(*Les Natchez*, VIII, p. 284).

In this spot, the « rêveur » concerns himself with memories and the less poetically-minded deliberates on the affairs of his nation.

« Les Francs s'assemblent une fois l'année, au mois de mars pour délibérer sur les affaires de la nation...
Le roi s'assied sous un chêne »

(*Mart.*, VII, p. 108).

The oak tree of this last example is perhaps the most

frequently mentioned tree in Ossian. A more attractive spot is attained when this tree is on the shore of a stream.

« J'écris assis sous l'arbre du désert, au bord d'un fleuve sans nom »...

(*Les Natchez*, p. 464).

More typically Ossianic is the occupation of the person in *Les Natchez* who is found in this same attitude.

« Un jour j'étais assis sous un pin : les flots étaient devant moi ; je m'entretenais avec les vents de la mer et les tombeaux de mes ancêtres »

(*Les Natchez*, VIII, p. 271).

Occasionally we find the character standing under the tree and resting against it. This is the position of Velléda when she is lying in wait for Eudore.

« La dernière fois elle [Velléda] resta longtemps appuyée contre un arbre, à regarder les murs de la forteresse »

(*Mart.*, X, p. 145).

Eudore changes his resting place from a tree to one of the columns of the portico, whence he looks out upon the sea.

« J'étais toujours surpris en arrivant au portique de me trouver au bord de la mer : car les vagues dans cet endroit faisaient à peine entendre le léger murmure d'une fontaine. En extase devant ce tableau, je m'appuyais contre une colonne, et sans pensée, sans désir, sans projet, je restais des heures entières à respirer un air délicieux »

(*Mart.*, V, p. 65).

Sometimes both the tree and the column are missing and the « rêveur » is simply sitting on the bank of a lake.

« Un soir celui-ci [René] était assis au bord d'un de ces lacs que l'on trouve partout dans les forêts du Nouveau Monde »

(*Les Natchez*, p. 359).

A variation of this pose is found in René's place « sous la voûte de la caverne ».

« En effet ils aperçurent René assis en face du fleuve, sous la voûte de la caverne »

(*Les Natchez*, p. 368).

In *René*, the « caverne » becomes a cell and a nun looks out from it upon the deserted shore of the sea.

« Une religieuse assise dans une attitude pensive, elle rêvait à l'aspect de l'océan où apparaissait quelque vaisseau..... Elle contemplait la mer, éclairée par l'astre de la nuit, et semblait prêter l'oreille au bruit des vagues qui se brisaient tristement sur des grèves solitaires »

(*René*, p. 106).

Chactas in *Les Natchez* (VII, p. 265), assumes the same position, but he is looking down on the ocean from the crow's nest of a vessel. Even the moon is pictured in this position in the Hymn to the Moon.

« Soit que penchée au bord des ondes du Meschacebé tu t'abandonnes à la rêverie, soit que tes pas s'égarèrent avec les fantômes le long des pâles bruyères »

(*Les Natchez*, p. 356).

Here also may be included Chactas's « rêverie » at the newly-made grave of Atala. « Je [Chactas] m'assis sur la terre fraîchement remuée. Un coude appuyé sur mes genoux et la tête dans ma main, je demeurai enseveli dans la plus amère rêverie » (*Atala*, p. 12). In *Les Martyrs* it is an old man who is seated upon the tomb. « Là se présente une tombe antique, que les Nymphes des montagnes avaient environnée d'ormeaux... un homme déjà sur l'âge, assis auprès du tombeau d'Aglaüs » (*Mart.*, II, p. 18). In the opinion of M. Chinard this particular scene may have been inspired in Chateaubriand by « Les bergers d'Arcadie » — a well-known picture by Poussin. Chin in hand, elbows on knees, sitting under a tree or on a cliff overlooking a stream, a lake, or an ocean, engrossed in thought of the past or in « rêverie »,

this is the Ossianic attitude which is frequently found in Chateaubriand's works.

It is but one step from « rêverie » to « fantômes » and these we find in the Ossianic « merveilleux » which is far more fascinating than the Christian « merveilleux » resulting from Milton's influence. Species of « fantômes » are the voices in the air. In *Les Natchez* they are heard in the dark in the depths of the woods. « On entend quelque chose de terrible passer dans l'obscurité, et du fond des forêts s'élève une voix qui n'a rien de l'homme » (*Les Natchez*, II, p. 179). In *Les Martyrs* they are heard in the tree-tops. « On entend des voix mystérieuses dans la cime des arbres » (*Mart.*, XIII, p. 190). It is very suitably a sad voice that rises in the air on the night when Eudore advises Constantin to flee just before a general massacre of the Christians.

« Le ciel était couvert de nuages, l'obscurité profonde ;
le vent gémissait dans les colonnes du temple, une
voix triste s'élevait dans l'air ; on croyait entendre
par intervalles le mugissement de l'antre de la
Sibylle, ou ces paroles funèbres que les Chrétiens
psalmodient pour les morts »

(*Mart.*, XVII, p. 262).

Similar are the moaning of the fountain and the lament of the breeze caused by Velléda as she explains :

« ' As-tu entendu la dernière nuit le *gémissément d'une*
fontaine dans les bois, et la *plainte de la brise* dans
l'herbe qui croît sur ta fenêtre ? Eh bien ! c'était
moi qui soupirais dans cette fontaine et dans cette
brise ! Je me suis aperçue que tu aimais le murmure
des eaux et des vents ! ' »

(*Mart.*, X, p. 142).

Atala, too, hears « une voix plaintive », sees flames rising from the ground,

« Quelquefois elle [Atala] me demandait si je n'entendais pas *une voix plaintive*, si je ne voyais pas des flammes sortir de la terre... »

(*Atala*, p. 42).

and on her death-bed « elle conversait tout bas avec des esprits invisibles » (*Atala*, p. 66). To these voices we may compare those which Joan of Arc heard, as a little girl, « dans la campagne, au bruit du vent dans les arbres » (Renan, « La poésie des races celtiques » in *Essais de morale et de critique*, p. 406). These voices take the form of « esprits », « fantômes », « génies », and « manitous » and all appear especially in *Les Natchez*. They prove to be either favorably or ill disposed toward man. In one of Chateaubriand's works, an old man who might be considered as some species of river god, comes forth from the river, gives advice to Chactas, and prophesies concerning the future (*Les Natchez*, VIII, p. 224-5). Through the appearance of an « esprit », Outougamiz learns that he is to choose the white man, René, as his life-long friend.

« ' Un Esprit, dit Outougamiz, m'est apparu dans mes songes. Je n'ai pu voir son visage, car sa tête était voilée. Cet Esprit m'a dit : Le grand jeune homme blanc porte la moitié de ton cœur ' »

(*Les Natchez*, III, p. 193).

A prophecy of a somewhat different nature, since it revealed events that were happening at that very moment, is made by a « fantôme » in *Les Martyrs*, XVIII, p. 271, which informs Cymodocée in her dreams of the conflagration of Jerusalem. Not only do these supernatural beings prophesy, they also give encouragement, as does « le brillant fantôme, « une jeune fille », who appeared to the disheartened Outougamiz and urged him to continue on his way with his sick friend (*Les Natchez*, XII, p. 330-1).

In addition to these individual spirits, there are others who appear, act, and are mentioned « en masse ». It is they in *Les Natchez* who have man's destiny in hand (*Les Natchez*, pp. 501, 183, 274, 281, 335). Their will is law. If they are favorably inclined, they can save man from his enemies, as many of the savages claimed they

did to one of their number (*Les Natchez*, XII, p. 327). Chactas says : « ' Mettons les Manitous équitables de notre côté, et si nous sommes enfin forcés à lever la hache, nous combattrons avec l'assurance de la victoire... ' » In his opinion, *Les Natchez*, II, p. 184-5, the manitous will grant victory even as the « Génies » have granted « une grande sagesse » to a sachem (*Les Natchez*, VI, p. 238). The spirits esteem the Sioux because of their hospitality (*Les Natchez*, VIII, p. 278). On the other hand, in their just wrath they avenge violated hospitality (*Les Natchez*, V, p. 228).

The Indians' attitude to these beings is one of respect and love (*Les Natchez*, p. 237, 259 ; VII, p. 255). Whatever is displeasing to them is avoided (*Les Natchez*, V, p. 220). The mass is fearful of the result of René's adoption ; for the sacred snake's disappearance points to the displeasure of the génies. When man's affairs do not run smoothly, he wonders whether he has offended these invisible spirits. Witness Céluta :

« Elle se demandait... si sa cabane, sa famille... les Manitous, les Génies, n'avaient point eu à se plaindre d'elle »

(*Les Natchez*, p. 425).

He is truly mad who « désire être témoin de la colère des Génies » (*Les Natchez*, VII, p. 267).

There are, however, wicked phantoms and to these Cymodocée and her companion refer when they seek refuge from a former friend of Eudore who has become a hermit. This appears in an earlier edition of *Les Marlyrs*.

« (*Nous ne sommes point des fantômes de ténèbres*) nous sommes des chrétiens fugitifs »

(*Mart.*, XVIII, p. 273 in Giraud & Gschwind,
« Les variantes », *R. H. L.*, 1904, p. 134).

A similar kind of phantom is found in the same edition.

« Les lois injustes qui dépeuplent la terre, la Tyrannie qui la ravage (*mille fantômes dévastateurs*), rampent aux pieds du Démon de l'homicide »

(*Mart.* XVIII, p. 267, Giraud & Gschwind, p. 134).

It is believed that these wicked spirits persecute (*Les Natchez*, p. 467) man by causing him to be dumb (*Les Natchez*, VIII, p. 280), by making him speak rashly (*Les Natchez*, VI, p. 232), by visiting him with physical ills (*Les Natchez*, VI, p. 234), by bringing about the disappearance of his friends (*Les Natchez*, XII, p. 355).

Another kind of « génie » is to be found in *Les Natchez*. Chactas calls upon the Manitou of the cave in which he takes shelter. « ' Qui que tu sois, m'écriai-je, Manitou de cette grotte, ne repousse pas un suppliant que le Grand-Esprit a jeté sur tes rivages ' » (*Les Natchez*, VIII, p. 268). In like manner we are told that « un Esprit de la tombe veillait jour et nuit à cette demeure », i. e. the cave where René was (*Les Natchez*, p. 368). The rivers (1), too, may be inhabited, for, Michabou, « Dieu des eaux », is pictured as raising twice a day « son front vert couronné de cheveux blancs » (*Les Natchez*, V, p. 223). In fact a « Génie » dwells in every wandering stream as we see from the following passage from *Les Natchez*, VII p. 261. « Bénissez cette cabane hospitalière, ô Génie des fleuves errants ! » A spirit of this kind presides over the hunters (*Les Natchez*, p. 470). Spirits of harmony dwell in the woods and are awakened by the « brises de la lune » (*Les Natchez*, VI, p. 244). All of these manifestations of the « merveilleux » which occur in Ossian may be due to the feeling for nature of the Celtic races. « Leur mythologie [that of the Celts] n'est qu'un naturalisme transparent, non pas ce naturalisme anthropomorphique de la Grèce et de l'Inde..... mais un naturalisme en quelque sorte, l'amour de la nature pour elle-même, l'impression vive de sa magie, accompagnée du mouvement de tristesse que l'homme éprouve quand, face à face avec elle, il croit l'entendre lui parler de son origine et de sa destinée » (Renan, « La poésie des races celtiques », p. 402-3). Among the Cymry, we have « le naturalisme

1. Cf. *Les Natchez*, VII, p. 266 : « Est-ce le Génie de ces mers qui gardent son empire et menace quiconque oserait y pénétrer ? »

parfait, la foi indéfinie dans le possible, la croyance à l'existence d'êtres indépendants et portant en eux-mêmes le principe de leur force..... Aussi ces individus étranges sont-ils toujours présentés comme en dehors de l'Eglise..... » (Renan, p. 415-416).

The « fantôme, que l'on croit voir dans l'hymne à la mort » (*Les Natchez*, p. 499), brings us to the last kind of spirit found in Chateaubriand's works that we may ascribe to the influence of Ossian. In *Atala* it is the ghost of Atala's mother who reproaches her.

« ' Mais *ton ombre*, o ma mère, *ton ombre* était toujours là me reprochant ses tourments ! ' »

(*Atala*, p. 58).

The shades of Atala and of père Aubry appear to the son of Outalissi, quite in the vein of Ossian.

« Le fils d'Outalissi a raconté que plusieurs fois, aux approches de la nuit, il avait cru voir *les ombres d'Atala et du père Aubry s'élever dans la vapeur du crépuscule* »

(*Atala*, p. 78).

Again, in *Les Natchez* (p. 522), Céluta thinks she sees her mother Tabamica, who has been dead for a long time. In this same story Mila, who returns to Céluta after every one supposes that she has drowned, must explain :

« ' Je ne suis point un *fantôme*, répondit Mila, déjà tombée dans le sein de son amie ; je suis ta petite Mila ' »

(*Les Natchez*, p. 518).

It is a frequent occurrence in Ossian to have the ghosts return and talk to their relatives and friends, giving them advice, encouragement, and consolation.

This leads us to another class of borrowings from Ossian, to which we have given the general title of « mélancolie ». An expression of this sentiment is the concern for « tombeaux », which we find occasionally

in Chateaubriand's works. Thus in *René* we read of
« les pâles tombeaux » :

« Tantôt la lune, se levant dans un ciel pur entre deux
urnes cinéraires à moitié brisées, me montrait *les
pâles tombeaux*. Souvent aux rayons de cet astre
qui alimente les rêveries, j'ai cru voir *le Génie des
souvenirs*, assis tout pensif à mes côtés »

(*René*, p. 88).

A case of similarity has been noted in speaking of
tombs.

« ' Mes os, o mon fils ! reposeraient mollement dans
la cabane de la mort ' »

(*Les Natchez*, I, p. 165).

« Here let him rest in *his narrow house* »

(Ossian : *Fingal*, II, p. 122).

The « narrow house » of Ossian has become in Chateau-
briand « la cabane de la mort », which is often placed
beneath a tree (1), as is shown by the following transla-
tion of a story of one of Ossian's imitators :

« La pierre moussue apprendra à l'étranger le lieu de
leur repos ; le chêne leur prêtera son ombre »

(*E. L. A.*, p. 728, Translation of Smith's *Gaul*)

This idea has gone over into *Les Natchez*, where we
find

« le tombeau d'un Indien sous le chêne de sa patrie »

(*Les Natchez*, p. 161).

Another favorite spot for the living « rêveur », as we
have seen, was within sight and sound of water. Here,
again, is to be found the tomb. In *Les Martyrs*, there
are two examples of this :

« Le monument [le tombeau de Scipion l'Africain]
s'élève au bord de la mer »

(*Mart.*, p. 69) ;

1. Cf. above, p. 111.

« ... je me trouvai à la vue des flots du Pont-Euxin.
Je découvris un tombeau de pierre sur lequel crois-
sait un laurier »

(*Mart.*, VII, p. 110).

The regard for the dead manifested by these quotations is characteristic of the Celts. Renan says (p. 382), « Nulle part la condition des morts n'a été meilleure que chez les peuples bretons ; nulle part le tombeau ne recueille autant de souvenirs et de prières ».

Another way in which the Ossianic melancholy manifests itself is in the characters of Atala, René, and perhaps in Velléda. M. Van Tieghem has expressed very well that found in Ossian :

« le paysage qui parlait à son cœur avec tant d'éloquence, et le sentiment..., ce vague à l'âme, ce désir de vivre ailleurs, cette envie de mourir, toute cette mélancolie qu'il a fondue dans la sienne »

(Van Tieghem, *Ossian en France*, II, p. 209).

René expresses this same « vague à l'âme » :

« Il me manquait quelque chose pour remplir l'abîme de mon existence : je descendais dans la vallée, je m'élevais sur la montagne, appelant de toute la force de mes désirs l'idéal objet d'une flamme future, je l'embrassais dans les vents ; je croyais l'entendre dans les gémissements du fleuve ; tout était ce fantôme imaginaire, et les astres dans les cieux, et le principe même de vie dans l'univers »

(*René*, p. 93).

In this quest for something which is never attained, René comes to America, hoping to find relief in the primitive, savage nature of the New World. Weighed down by a secret grief, he seeks alleviation by entering into the life of the Natchez. Scarcely has he begun his life with the Indians, when Céluta falls in love with him, thus adding another trouble to his already heavy burden. As he is the friend of Céluta's brother, he refuses to offend his friend and Céluta, and so is persuaded to enter

upon a loveless marriage. A « triste destinée » seems to pursue him, whatever he does.

This, too, is the character of Atala. In her case it is too strict an interpretation of her vows to her dying mother never to marry that saddens her life. As for Velléda, M. Van Tieghem suggests (II, p. 198-9) that « la conception même de Velléda peut devoir quelque chose aux vierges de Morven, bien qu'aucune n'ait, tant s'en faut, cette fière allure et ces dons prophétiques ». She has, however, the same melancholy life. As a Druidic priestess, she is destined always to remain a virgin. When Eudore comes to Brittany, however, she falls madly in love with him. His absolute lack of interest maddens her and adds to her natural melancholy. After he has yielded to her charms, she kills herself in a fit of remorse. Ossian and Chateaubriand have in common this melancholy which Renan (1) (p. 386) has expressed thus : « L'élément essentiel de la vie poétique du Celte, c'est l'aventure, c'est-à-dire la poursuite de l'inconnu, une course sans fin après l'objet toujours fuyant du désir..... Cette race veut l'infini, elle en a soif, elle le poursuit à tout prix, au delà de la tombe, au delà de l'enfer ».

Another type of borrowings from Ossian may be called epic. The names applied to the characters, as suggested by M. Van Tieghem (*Ossian en France*, II, p. 199), come under this heading. Ossianic are such expressions as « la fille de l'exil », « le fils de l'étranger » (*Les Natchez*, III, p. 195) ; « l'homme des anciens jours », *Atala*, p. 48, « L'homme de paix », p. 55, and « l'homme du rocher », p. 71, all applied to père Aubry. We might add such as « la fille de Tabamica » and « le frère d'Amélie » from *Les Natchez*, which recall the « daughter of Toscar » and the « son of Ossian ». All these ways of naming persons, are, however, characteristic of the epic. One

1. Since writing this, find the same opinion expressed by M. Van Tieghem, *Le préromantisme*, p. 283.

of these names is applied to a character who often enters epics in one guise or another, i. e. the wise old man, « le père Aubry » in *Atala*, Cyrille, « un homme d'un visage vénérable » in *Les Martyrs* (II, p. 25), and « le Solitaire du Vésuve » (*Les Martyrs*, p. 71).

The epic custom, Ossianic as well as Homeric, of entertaining a company of guests by singing to the accompaniment of a lyre is followed by Cymodocée and Eudore in *Les Martyrs* (II, p. 27 ff.). The Bards of the « barbares suivaient en chantant sur une espèce de guitare les louanges de Teutatès » (*Les Martyrs*, IX, p. 136). The « guitare » is heard again in *Les Martyrs* (X, p. 146) though it is a Spanish instrument. Chateaubriand's use of the word is explained in a *Remarque* (*Les Martyrs*, p. 506) : « Les Bardes ne connaissent point la lyre, encore moins la harpe, comme les prétendus Bardes de Macpherson. Toutes ces choses sont des mœurs fausses, qui ne servent qu'à brouiller les idées. Diodore de Sicile (liv. V) parle de l'instrument de musique des Bardes et il en fait une espèce de cithare ou de guitare ». In his discussion of Anglo-Saxons and Danes in England, Chateaubriand says : « La cithare ou la guitare était en usage dans les Gaules, et la harpe dans l'île des Bretons » (*E. L. A.*, p. 29). To the bards of Cona is attributed the custom of hanging their lyres upon the trees. « Aux branches d'un saule voisin était suspendue une lyre plus forte et plus grande », that of Eudore (1) (*Les Martyrs*, II, p. 29).

Other epic details which are similar in Ossian and Chateaubriand deal with fighting. In the battle between Lochlin and Inis-fail,

« Helmets are cleft on high. Blood bursts and smokes around. Strings murmur on the polished yews. Darts rush along the sky. Spears fall like the circles of light, which gild the face of night. As the noise

1. Both authors have drawn upon *Psalm*, CXXXVII : « aux saules de la contrée nous avons suspendu nos harpes ».

of the troubled ocean, when roll the waves on high.
As the last peal of thunder in Heaven, such is the
din of war ! Though Cormac's hundred bards were
there, to give the fight to song ; feeble was the
voice of a hundred bards to send the deaths to
future times ! For many were the deaths of heroes ;
wide poured the blood of the brave ! »

(Ossian, II, *Fingal*, I, p. 64).

« La mêlée s'échauffe ; un tourbillon de poussière rougie
s'élève et s'arrête au-dessus des combattants. *Le sang coule* comme les torrents grossis par les pluies
de l'hiver, comme les flots de l'Euripe dans le détroit
de l'Eubée..... Au brillant éclat des armes a succédé
la sombre couleur de la poussière et du carnage.
Les casques sont brisés, les panaches abattus, les
boucliers fendus, les cuirasses percées. L'haleine
enflammée de cent mille combattants, le souffle
épais des chevaux, la *vapeur* des sueurs et du sang,
forment sur le champ de bataille une espèce de
météore que traverse de temps en temps la *lueur*
d'un glaive, comme le trait brillant de la foudre dans
la livide clarté d'un orage. Au milieu des cris, des
insultes, des menaces, du bruit des épées, des coups
des javelots, du sifflement des flèches et des *dards*,
du gémissement des machines de guerre, on n'entend
plus la voix des chefs »

(*Mart.*, VI, p. 90-91).

« Blood bursts » is very tamely stated in Chateaubriand
as « le sang coule ». One crude detail is taken over by
Chateaubriand — the « smoke of the blood ». The others,
denoting action, might be characteristic of any epic
struggle.

The next borrowings are unclassified. The description
of Mila's body after she has drowned, as it is thought
out by Outagamiz, recalls the death of Minvela and of
Crimora. The account in *Les Natchez* is, however, far
more detailed.

« Ces cheveux charmants sont maintenant souillés
dans les limons du fleuve ! cette bouche, que l'amour

semblait entr'ouvrir, est remplie de sable ! Cette femme qui était tout âme il y a quelques heures, cette femme que la vie animait de toute sa mobilité, maintenant froide, fixée à jamais dans les bras de la mort ! Qu'elle a été vite oubliée, la tendre amie qui n'existait que pour ses amis ! Sa famille n'y pense déjà plus » (1)

(*Les Natchez*, p. 479).

« With morning he [Colda] found her [Minvela] on the sounding beach. Her blood was mixt with the oozy foam »

(Smith's *Galic Antiquities*, « Dargo », p. 140).

« They came, in silence to comfort Crimora ; but in her bed of ooze, they found the maid. They found her cold as a wreath of snow ; fair as a swan on the shore of Lano »

(*ibid.*, p. 139).

The idea of friendship which is so beautifully pictured in *Les Natchez*, and especially Outougamiz's desire and determination not to kill his friend René may have been suggested by this part of *Fingal* (Ossian, Vol. II, *Fingal*, II, p. 83-4). « Son of Damman, began the fair, Cuthullin hath pained my soul. I must hear of his death, or Lubar's stream shall roll over me... Pour out the blood of Cuthullin or pierce this heaving breast. ' Deugala ' said the fair-haired youth ' how shall I slay the son of Semo ? He is the friend of my secret thoughts. Shall I then lift the sword ?..... I will fight my friend, Damman ! but may I fall by his sword ! Could I wander on the hill alone ? Could I behold the grave of Cuthullin ? ' We fought on the plain of Muri. Our swords avoid a wound..... ' Defend thee from the hand of thy friend..... ' ». The comparison of an old man to an oak tree that has withered away is found in *René* and *Les Natchez* and is frequent in Ossian.

1. Here Chateaubriand has remembered the following passage from *Dargo* though at an earlier date he had failed to translate it Cf. above p. 12.

« Un *vieillard* avec ses souvenirs *ressemble au chêne décrépit de nos bois* : ce chêne ne se décore plus de son propre feuillage, mais il couvre quelquefois sa nudité des plantes étrangères qui ont végété sur ses antiques rameaux »

(*René*, p. 91).

Le Soleil: ;

« L'épreuve du feu commencera par moi, parce que *je suis un chêne desséché sur ma tige*, et propre à m'embraser rapidement »

(*Les Natchez*, p. 322).

The final detail to add to this list of borrowings is that of the wind whistling through one's hair.

« Ainsi disant, je marchais à grands pas, le visage enflammé, le vent sifflant dans ma chevelure »

(*René*, p. 95).

« The wind whistled thro' his locks »

(*Ossian*, II, *Fingal*, p. 98).

With the exception of these minor details and of the characteristically epic elements, Chateaubriand has borrowed from Ossian principally the outstanding points of his wild landscape, which inspires the « rêverie » — usually melancholy — of the person who sits or stands and looks down upon it. This Ossianic attitude is scattered through all of Chateaubriand's novels. The « merveilleux » which also appears in Ossian and is borrowed by Chateaubriand is characteristic of the Celtic race. Each tree, fountain, wood, stream, in fact every part of nature is possessed by a « génie » who is to the Celts a very real being. There is in addition to these « génies » associated with definite things, a host of « esprits » in whose hands lies the destiny of man. The last kind of supernatural being is the ghost, which has several missions in Ossian as well as in Chateaubriand. The shade of melancholy is present there and finally has its full expression externally in the

« tombeaux » and otherwise in the characters of Velléda, Atala, and René.

Besides actual borrowings, Chateaubriand's interest in Ossian is evident in references to his works, in comments, and in criticisms. The earliest of these after his return from England occurs in the « Lettre à M. Fontanes », late in 1800. In this he is led to speak of Ossian because of a statement of M^{me} de Staël's to the effect that Ossian was « la grande fontaine du Nord où tous les bardes se sont enivrés de mélancolie » (*Génie*, pp. xxxi-xxxii). « J'avoue », Chateaubriand continues, « que cette idée de M^{me} de Staël me plaît fort. J'aime à me représenter les deux aveugles ; l'un sur la cime d'une montagne d'Ecosse, la tête chauve, la barbe humide, la harpe à la main, et dictant ses lois, du milieu des brouillards, à tout le peuple poétique de la Germanie : l'autre, assis sur le sommet du Pinde, environné des Muses qui tiennent sa lyre, élevant son front couronné sous le beau ciel de la Grèce... » This comparison is suggested by M^{me} de Staël, who has confused Ossian's poems with certain Scandinavian poetry. One difference is pointed out by Chateaubriand. « Les premières [i. e. the Scandinavian] ne respirent que brutalité et vengeance. M. Macpherson lui-même a bien soin de marquer cette différence, et de mettre en contraste les guerriers de Morven et les guerriers de *Lochlin* » (*Génie*, p. xxxv). Chateaubriand declares that the ode which M^{me} de Staël recalls in a note has even been quoted and considered by Blair a contrast to the poems of Macpherson.

From Chateaubriand we learn that she persists in believing in the authenticity of the poems. « Elle a trop d'esprit et de raison pour ne pas sentir que c'est toujours un mauvais système que celui qui repose sur une base aussi contestée », he says. Only foreigners are still the dupes of Macpherson. « J'ai été », he continues, « longtemps trompé par cet ingénieux mensonge : enthousiaste d'Ossian comme un jeune homme que j'étais alors, il m'a fallu passer plusieurs années à Londres parmi les

gens de lettres, pour être entièrement désabusé. Mais enfin je n'ai pu résister à la conviction, et les palais de Fingal se sont évanouis pour moi, comme beaucoup d'autres songes » (*Génie*, p. xxxii). In view of his own disillusionment and the fact that « toute l'Angleterre est convaincue que les poèmes qui portent ce nom sont l'ouvrage de M. Macpherson lui-même », Chateaubriand can not understand M^{me} de Staël's failure to accept the real author. Thus he launches forth into a discussion of the controversy over the authenticity of Ossian. « Vous connaissez toute l'ancienne querelle du docteur Johnson et du traducteur supposé du barde calédonien. M. Macpherson, poussé à bout, ne put jamais montrer le manuscrit de *Fingal*, dont il avait fait un histoire ridicule, prétendant qu'il l'avait trouvé dans un vieux coffre chez un paysan ; que ce manuscrit était en papier et en caractères runiques ». Johnson then replied that paper and the runic alphabet were not in use in Scotland at the time stated by Macpherson. The poems of Ossian were translated from English into Celtic « car plusieurs montagnards écossais sont devenus complices de la fraude de leur compatriote » (*Génie*, p. xxxii). At the date at which Chateaubriand was writing, one text containing some poems by Smith, Ossian's imitator, had already appeared. The English and French press, in 1800, promised the early publication of the real Ossian, which, we learn elsewhere in Chateaubriand, never appeared.

After giving this brief account of the controversy, the writer of the letter proceeds to set forth proofs of the recent writing of Ossian. « L'homme du xviii^e siècle y perce de toutes parts ». Chateaubriand then quotes from memory the bard's apostrophe to the sun : « O soleil, lui dit-il, qui es-tu ? d'où viens-tu, où vas-tu ? ne tomberas-tu point un jour, etc. ? » Such abstract ideas of extent of time, unnatural to savages, are found on every page of Ossian (*Génie*, p. xxxiii). « Mais ce qui prouve incontestablement que M. Macpherson est

l'auteur des poèmes d'Ossian, c'est la perfection, ou *le beau idéal de la morale* », which has its origin in society (*Génie*, p. xxxiii). Whence could Ossian have taken this « morale parfaite ? » Surely not from his religion, says Chateaubriand, since no such thing exists in his works. If this « perfectabilité » proceeds from nature « comment le sauvage Ossian, sur un rocher de la Calédonie, tandis que tout était cruel, barbare, sanguinaire, grossier autour de lui, serait-il arrivé en quelques jours à des connaissances morales que Socrate eut à peine dans les siècles les plus éclairés de la Grèce » ... (*Génie*, p. xxxv). Macpherson has, moreover, made mistakes in natural history « qui suffiraient seules pour découvrir le mensonge » (*ibid.*, xxxv).

He has in the course of his work, supposedly that of Ossian, allowed oak trees to grow where heaths alone flourished and he has put the eagle into a part of the country where only the « barnache » and the « courlieu » are to be heard. All this he has done simply because « il a chanté sa montagne, son parc, et le génie de sa religion » — the Christian religion — in the books of which he was well versed. As the final proof of the poems' not being old, Chateaubriand says that they would in all probability have been collected before the time of Macpherson, if they had been in existence. The well-known poets would also have mentioned them. « Gray, lui-même, si voisin de nous, dans son ode du *Barde*, ne rappelle pas (1) une seule fois le nom d'Ossian » (*Génie*, p. xxxvi, note 1).

1. Compare a statement made by Gray in his correspondence and quoted by Mézières, *Histoire critique de la Littérature anglaise*, II, p. 318 (1834). « Dès le principe avant même la publication des poésies écossaises, et sur la lecture de quelques manuscrits, il (Gray) s'en déclara le champion..... ' Pour moi, je n'admire plus rien que Fingal. Pourtant je reste encore indécis sur l'authenticité de ses poèmes, quoique j'incline plutôt à y croire, en dépit du monde. Qu'ils soient l'œuvre de l'antiquité, ou l'invention d'un Écossais moderne, ces deux suppositions sont également inexplicables pour moi : je m'y perds ' ».

Nevertheless Chateaubriand is confident of the existence of ancient poems of Irish or of Gaelic origin. « C'est l'ouvrage de quelques moines du XIII^e siècle », which deals with Fingal, a « géant qui ne fait qu'une enjambée d'Ecosse en Irlande ; et les héros vont en Terre-Sainte pour expier les meurtres qu'ils ont commis » (*Génie*, p. xxxiii). In spite of his disillusionment, even in Macpherson's Ossian he finds some merit. Temora and Fingal « n'en sont pas moins le vrai modèle d'une sorte de mélancolie du désert, pleine de charmes » (*Génie*, p. xxxv). Since they still attract him, he has ordered « la petite édition qu'on vient de publier dernièrement en Ecosse ; et, ne vous en déplaît, mon cher ami, je ne sors plus sans mon Homère de Wetstein dans une poche, et mon Ossian de *Glasgow* dans l'autre » (*Génie*, p. xxxv). He concludes this his earliest criticism of Ossian after his return to France with these words : « Pour moi, mon cher ami, vous voyez que j'ai tout à gagner par la chute d'Ossian, et que, chassant la *perfection* mélancolique des tragédies de Shakespeare, des *Nuits* de Young, de l'*Héloïse* de Pope, de la *Clarisse* de Richardson, j'y rétablis victorieusement la mélancolie des idées religieuses » (*Génie*, p. xxxvi).

In March 1801, we find the next mention of Ossian in Chateaubriand's works, in an essay on Young, which appeared in the *Mercure de France*. There we read, « Ossian se lève aussi au milieu de la nuit pour pleurer ; mais Ossian pleure : Lead, son of Alpin... » (*Voyages et mélanges littéraires*, « Young », p. 337). At the close of the translation Chateaubriand continues : « Voilà des images tristes, voilà de la rêverie ». The English people, we are told, consider the prose of Ossian as poetic as his verse. Therefore a literal translation, such as has been made, is « très supportable ». It has all the inversions of the poetry and is also « beau, simple, naturel ». Though it is generally believed that such melancholy images as these — borrowed from the winds, the moon, the clouds — are unknown to the ancients, Chateaubriand hastens to

tell us that they occur in Homer and in Virgil. He cites from the latter an example in which we find « Ossian sous le ciel de Naples, sous un ciel où la lumière est plus pure et les vapeurs plus transparentes » (*Voyages*, p. 338).

The following year, 1802, sees the publication of the *Génie* in which we find that Homer and Ossian « ont chanté les plaisirs de la douleur : κρυεροῦ τεταρπόμεθα γόοιο, the joy of grief » (1) (*Génie*, II^e part., liv. IV, chap. xv, p. 273 ; p. xxxv). In this work « Homère vient se placer auprès de Milton, Virgile à côté du Tasse : les ruines de Memphis et d'Athènes contrastent avec les ruines des monuments chrétiens, les tombeaux d'Ossian avec nos cimetières de campagne » (*Génie*, I^e part., liv. I, chap. 1, p. 7). True to this statement in the introduction, Chateaubriand in his discussion of « Culte » describes the various kinds of tombs and gives over one brief chapter to those of La Calédonie. « Quatre pierres couvertes de mousse marquent sur les bruyères de la Calédonie la tombe des guerriers de Fingal ». Though the legendary « Oscar et Malvina ont passé, rien n'est changé dans leur solitaire patrie. Le montagnard écossais se plaît encore à redire les chants de ses ancêtres ; il est encore brave, sensible, généreux ; ses mœurs modernes sont comme le souvenir de ses mœurs antiques ; ce n'est plus, qu'on nous pardonne l'image, ce n'est plus la main du barde même qu'on entend sur la harpe : c'est ce frémissement des cordes produit par le toucher d'une ombre, lorsque la nuit, dans une salle déserte, elle annonçait la mort d'un héros ». There follows a quotation from Ossian : « Carril accompanied his voice. The music was like the memory of joys that are past..... » (2) which is trans-

1. This is apparently a misquotation and misinterpretation of the *Odyssey* XI : 212 κρυεροῖο τεταρπόμεθα γόοιο which has been translated by Mackail (F. W., *The Odyssey in English verse*) « and be satisfied with frozen wailing » or « chilly lamentation ».

2. Another quotation, given in the Notes, p. 608, exemplifies « la poésie erse ».

lated into French (*Génie*, IV^e part., liv. II, chap. iv, pp. 432-3). Chateaubriand concludes the chapter with a moralizing sentence : « L'homme, ici-bas, ressemble à l'aveugle Ossian, assis sur les tombeaux des rois de Morven : quelque part qu'il étende sa main dans l'ombre, il touche les cendres de ses pères » (*Génie*, IV^e part., liv. II, chap. iv, p. 433). Twice again Ossian is mentioned in the course of the *Génie*. Once the situation and picturesque-ness of certain old ruins in Scotland recall the old bard who had celebrated the storms of the sea nearby. « Il n'est aucune ruine d'un effet plus pittoresque que ces débris : Sous un ciel nébuleux, au milieu des vents et des tempêtes, au bord de cette mer dont Ossian a chanté les orages, leur architecture gothique a quelque chose de grand... » (*Génie*, III^e part., liv. V, chap. v, p. 393). Later in the same chapter he pictures the worshippers « assis dans la grotte de Fingal ».

In January 1803, in the article « Sur le printemps d'un proscrit », par M. J. Michaud, *Mélanges littéraires*, p. 417, Chateaubriand quotes and translates a passage from Ossian's *Carthou*, wishing to illustrate poets' fondness for depicting the misfortunes of exiles. Several lines from Virgil applied to the Trojan exiles precede the quotation from Ossian. They give the author the opportunity to draw a comparison and to say that the Scotch poem also has much charm. The only mention of Ossian in *Les Martyrs*, 1809, is the author's admission that he has used *Les Remarques de Blair sur Ossian* for the customs of the Franks (Préface, p. xii). In the *Mémoires* criticism of Ossian is merely incidental. In 1822 (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 202) Chateaubriand wrote that « Byron aime d'abord la Bible et Ossian comme je les aimais ». At the same time he said of Beattie that he was « destiné à verser des larmes : la mort de son fils brisa son cœur paternel : comme Ossian après la perte de son Oscar il suspendit sa harpe aux branches d'un chêne » (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 202).

Both these remarks are repeated in the later *Essai*

sur la littérature anglaise, in which the real authorship of Ossian is again set forth in the discussion of English literature of the earliest period. « Après Tacite qui a paraphrasé quelques mots de Galgacus conservés par tradition dans les camps romains, un abîme se creuse : on traverse quinze siècles avant d'entendre parler de nouveau des Bretons, et encore comment ! *Macpherson* transportant en Ecosse le barde Irlandais Ossian défigurant la véritable histoire de Fingal, cousant trois ou quatre lambeaux de vieilles ballades à un mensonge, nous représente un poète de la Calédonie tout aussi réellement que Tacite nous en a représenté un guerrier. Puisque après tout nous n'avons qu'Ossian ; puisque les fragments qu'on pourrait donner comme venant des Bardes, appartiennent plutôt aux diverses espèces de chanteurs que je rappellerai tout à l'heure, il faut bien faire usage du travail de *Macpherson* » (*E. L. A.*, pp. 24-5). This he does not, however, do. Since John Smith's *Antiquities* are not so widely known as *Macpherson*, Chateaubriand proceeds to quote a passage from the second song of *Dargo*, which he himself had translated in 1897 (*E. L. A.*, pp. 707-8). Again in the *Essai*, Shakespeare's women are called « ombres ossianiques du théâtre anglais » (p. 120). Probably at this time or a few years later, Chateaubriand says in the *Mémoires* (IV, p. 103), « Il [Napoléon] restait presque toujours enfermé, et lisait *Ossian* de la traduction italienne de Cesarotti ».

In the letter to M. Fontanes, 1800, M^{me} de Staël's conviction that Ossian is the source of all northern poets' melancholy furnishes Chateaubriand an opening for a number of comments on the bard. He accepts this statement of his contemporary, calling Ossian a Christian. In other words he is already at work on the theme of the *Génie* and claims here that « Toutes ces diverses puissances du malheur, de la religion, des souvenirs, des mœurs, des scènes de la nature, se réunirent pour faire du génie chrétien le génie même de la mélancolie. »

M^{me} de Staël's confusion of Ossian and the Scandinavian poets is pointed out and proof of their difference is offered. Another error of the author of *De la Littérature* is brought to light, namely her persistence in believing the authenticity of Ossian. Chateaubriand admits that his own belief in it lasted till he had been convinced in London of its falseness. He recalls the controversy between Johnson and Macpherson and enumerates finally the reasons for Ossian's being written recently. He does, however, concede the probability of the existence of some ancient ballads. Finally he testifies to the merits of the unauthentic Ossian and shows his admiration for it by referring to it as his constant companion.

In March of the following year there is included in an essay on Young a translation of a passage from Ossian, which is said to be characterized by « rêverie » and melancholy images. These last are, however, not found in Ossian alone, but occur in Homer and Virgil. The name of the first of these ancient poets is linked with that of Ossian in the *Génie*, where both are said to sing the « joy of grief ». Another comment is just as incidental as this and enters the *Génie* because the author is speaking of the old ruins in Scotland. One brief chapter only is devoted to the tombs of Caledonia and thus to Ossian and to a quotation from his poem. The only other quotation is relegated to the notes, where it exemplifies Erse poetry. A passage is quoted in 1803 in an article on a poem by M. J. Michaud. In 1809 Chateaubriand admits his use of Blair's *Remarques sur Ossian*. Though the *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* are rich in comment on writers and events of every kind, they contain very little about Ossian. In 1822, Chateaubriand writes that Byron loved the Bible and Ossian even as he himself did. The same year marks a comparison of Beattie's grief at the death of his son to that of the ancient bard. The *Essai* of 1836 fixes the authorship of Ossian, but quotes from the works of an imitator, John Smith.

Chateaubriand's criticism consists then, of quotation,

of study of the controversy, and of the correction of M^{me} de Staël's statements. Here, as in his borrowings, he stresses the melancholy of Ossian's works. We are led to believe that Chateaubriand knew Ossian thoroughly and that he understood him, probably because he and Ossian were both Celts.

CHAPTER IV

Ossian and Milton are, as we have seen, consciously or unconsciously on the part of Chateaubriand, the chief English sources of his works. His interest in English literature does not, however, stop at these two authors alone as has been shown in the discussion of the *Essai sur les révolutions* of 1797 and as will now be shown in that of the *Essai sur la littérature anglaise* of 1836. The title indicates the author's desire to deal with all English literature and his experiment is commendable for its novelty, if for nothing else. Some eighty years previous to the appearance of this *Essai*, in 1749, to be exact, the Abbé Yart had had much the same purpose in his work on English poetry alone. His *Idée de la poésie anglaise* was followed by Hennem's *La poétique anglaise* in 1806. Another lapse of approximately twenty years brings us to a combined study of prose and poetry, but a haphazard, informal thing, as can be judged by the title. We refer to Pichot's *Voyage* of 1824. Two years before the *Essai*, Mézières published a critical history of English literature, from the time of Bacon to the nineteenth century, in which, however, he discussed only « morale, roman et genre épistolaire ». With these inadequate works on English literature before him, it remained for Chateaubriand to write the pioneer book in the field, a treatise whose importance we realize when we read Mézières's lament that no good work such as this had yet been written in English.

Creditable as the work is from the historical point of view, it has the fault of being a mere compilation. The author's own words in the *Avertissement* (p. 3) show that it is composed :

1. « *De quelques morceaux détachés de mes anciennes études, morceaux corrigés dans le style, rectifiés pour les jugements, augmentés ou resserrés quant au texte ;*
2. *De divers extraits de mes Mémoires, extraits qui se trouvaient avoir des rapports directs ou indirects avec le travail que je livre au public ;*
3. *De recherches récentes relatives à la matière de cet Essai ».*

The « *morceaux détachés de mes anciennes études* » make us think at once of his previous comments on Milton and Shakespeare. Of the former Chateaubriand says :

« *Au reste, je parle fort au long de Milton dans l'Essai sur la littérature anglaise, puisque je n'ai écrit cet Essai qu'à l'occasion du Paradis perdu* »

(*E. L. A.*, *Avertissement*, p. 7).

Another article in the *Essai sur la littérature anglaise*, that is far too lengthy when compared to the whole book and when considered in relation to the length of time covered by the *Essai*, is that on the Reformation and Luther. On the other hand, centuries are dismissed with less space than is given to any one of these three writers.

In addition to its lack of proportion, the *Essai* has another fault, in that the originality of the judgments and criticisms is, at least at times, doubtful. We have already seen what use Chateaubriand made of Addison's *Remarques sur le Paradis perdu*. We have further reason to believe that he continued this practice in the *Essai sur la littérature anglaise* ; for, in the *Avertissement*, he gives a partial list of his sources. A sentence from the *Essai sur la littérature anglaise*, « *si toutefois on peut*

juger les ouvrages étrangers, ce dont je doute beaucoup » (*E. L. A.*, p. 123) strengthens our belief.

Because of some of these faults, we shall refrain from studying the *Essai* in detail. It is readily visible moreover that an intensive inquiry into the sources of each of Chateaubriand's statements would require an endless amount of work and time. Many of the English authors here included are not mentioned elsewhere in Chateaubriand's works. With those we shall dispense. The final factor in our discussion of parts only of the *Essai* is the fact that the financial remuneration attached to the production of this volume had much to do with its appearance.

We might, however, first enumerate all the works and authors discussed by Chateaubriand. After an introduction devoted to the language and to the Middle Ages, Chateaubriand begins his study with a chapter on the Breton and the Anglo-Saxon epoch, which lasts up to the time of William the Conqueror. Thence to the time of Henry VIII, he discusses the Anglo-norman « trouvères » ; « Paradis terrestre » and « Descents aux enfers » ; miracles, mysteries and satires ; change in the literature and the contest for supremacy of the two languages, resulting in the use of the national language in legal documents. Chaucer, Gower, and Barbour are the next writers considered. From a discussion of the latter's poem on liberty, Chateaubriand is led to speak of the « sentiment de la liberté politique », and to compare the French and English nations in this matter. The writings of James I of Scotland, Dumbard, Douglas, Worcester, and Rivers are the last to be considered with the exception of the anonymous ballads. The second part of the *Essai* is devoted to « Littérature sous les Tudors » and includes a treatise on the reformation. In addition to Luther's works, Chateaubriand here speaks of those of Knox and Buchanan, of Henry VIII, Surrey, Thomas More, Edward VI and Mary. Of the writers of the time of Elisabeth, he deals with two only: with

Spenser in a few words, and with Shakespeare at great length. With the period of the first two Stuarts we come to the third part of the *Essai*, in which Chateaubriand discourses upon the *Basilicon Doron* of James I and upon the works of Raleigh and Cowley. The political writings under Charles I and Cromwell, which follow, give the author of the *Essai* an opportunity to bring in the Abbé de Lamennais and other Frenchmen as well as Locke, Hobbes, Denham, Harrington, and Harvey. In this connection begins the study of Milton, which completes this part of Chateaubriand's work. The next part, entitled : « Littérature sous les deux derniers Stuarts » offers another opening for comparison of the English and the French. Cromwell enters here as does also Lovelace. Tillotson, Temple, Burnet, Clarendon and Algernon-Sidney are the representatives of the prose of this period and Dryden, Prior, Waller, Buckingham, Roscommon, Rochester, and Shaftesbury of the poetry. Butler is the last writer of this epoch to be discussed. With the « Littérature sous la maison de Hanovre » we come to the last part of this treatise. Before turning to the works of authors, Chateaubriand gives us an account of the state of the English language, of the effect of criticism on languages and of the reasons for which « il n'y aura plus de renommées littéraires universelles ». He then proceeds to a brief statement about the Classic school, about Addison, Pope, Swift and Steele and their periodicals. After noting the passage from Classic literature to didactic, descriptive, and sentimental, Chateaubriand lists the poems of different authors. There follows a slightly more detailed study of Young, Gray, Thomson, and the French writers they influenced, Delille and Fontanes. The account of the literature of this period continues with the historians and political economists. The titles of the final chapters may serve to show the extent of Chateaubriand's study of the remainder of this period.

Théâtre — Mistriss Siddons — Parterre — Invasion
de la littérature allemande.

Eloquence politique — Fox — Burke — Pitt.

Changement des Mœurs Anglaises. ‡

Voyages — Le Capitaine Ross — Jacquemont —
Lamartine.

Romans.

Nouveaux Romans.

Walter Scott — Les Juives.

Ecole des Lacs — Poètes des classes industrielles.

La Princesse Charlotte — Knox.

Chansons — Lord Dorset — Béranger.

Beattie.

Lord Byron.

This is the scope of the *Essai*.

From the first part, we have chosen the sections devoted to the anglo-norman « trouvères », to the period of Chaucer, and to the ballads. As an introduction to the study of the individual « trouvères anglo-normans », Chateaubriand tells us of the different languages which were used at the time of William and his immediate successors. « On écrit et l'on chanta en latin, en calédonien, *en gallique*, en anglo-saxon, en roman des trouvères et quelquefois en roman des troubadours » (*E. L. A.*, p. 31). These were the languages in which were written and sung « *lais*, ballades, *rotruenges*, chansons à carole, chansons de gestes, contes, *sirventois*, satires, *fabliaux*, jeux partis, dictiés » (*E. L. A.*, p. 31). For this enumeration Chateaubriand has gone to l'Abbé de la Rue's work on « Les trouvères anglo-normands » (1), which the author of the *Essai* mentions in his *Avertissement*. « Les poésies légères des Jongleurs sont celles qu'ils nommaient Chansons, *rotruenges*, balletes ou ballades, bergerettes ou pastourelles, li Rondel ou Rondeaux, saluts, complaintes, Romances, Estampies ou Estam-

1. LA RUE, Gervais de, abbé, *Essais historiques sur les bardes, les jongleurs et les trouvères normands et anglo-normands*, Caen, Mancel, 1884.

pilles, Equivoques, Fables, Fabliaux, Contes, Sirventais, Satires, Jeux Partis, Dits ou Dicties... » (De la Rue, *Les trouvères anglo-normands*, I, p. 190).

After these statements about the language and form of the literature of this early period, Chateaubriand takes up the « trouvères » and their works. The first of these is Robert de Courte-Heuse, eldest son of William the Conqueror, who learned « la langue des bardes gallois » during his twenty-eight-year imprisonment in a chateau at Cardiff. From his prison he could see a gigantic oak-tree which dominated the forest covering the promontory of Penarth. To this tree he addressed a complaint which Chateaubriand has quoted in part. For this whole account of Robert, Chateaubriand has quite evidently used De la Rue, *Les Trouvères anglo-normands* (I, pp. 88 ff.). Of the poem quoted in full by De la Rue, Chateaubriand has cited only the first line of three stanzas and the last line of the final one. The next literary work of the period, « l'histoire populaire du Marquis au court-nez », the fame of which is attested (p. 32), is merely mentioned by Chateaubriand, though treated at greater length by De la Rue (II, pp. 98 ff.). Richard Cœur-de-Lion, crowned as a troubadour, is also included. His menestrel, Guillaume Blondel, « qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec le trouvère Blondel de Nesle », also wrote verse. It was De la Rue (II, p. 325, « Fauchet, Warton, Guinguené et autres écrivains se sont mépris en confondant ce poète avec Blondel de Nesle, et en faisant de ce dernier un Menestrel ou jongleur de Richard Cœur-de-Lion »), who set Chateaubriand straight on this point. « Une description curieuse de Rome et de ses monuments » is given in *Les Joies de Notre-Dame* by Guillaume who has also written « un petit poème fort ingénieux, sur ces trois mots, fumée, pluie et femme, qui chassent un homme de sa maison » (*E. L. A.*, p. 32). In this as well as in the explanation of the allegorical significance of the three words, Chateaubriand has followed De la Rue (II, p. 275), « ... la maison, c'est le ciel,

la fumée, l'orgueil ; la pluie, la convoitise ; la femme, la volupté ; trois choses qui empêchent d'entrer dans le ciel, maison de l'homme..... la femme méchante, c'est la luxure, trois vices qui expulsent l'homme du ciel ». Another bard of this epoch, « un moine du mont Saint-Michel », Guillaume de Saint-Pair according to De la Rue (II, p. 301), describes the fêtes of the monastery. Geoffroy Gaimar borrowed from the « bardes gallois le *Brut d'Angleterre* que Wace traduisit du latin de Geoffroy de Montmouth » (*E. L. A.*, p. 32). The same statements are made by De la Rue (II, p. 104), whom Chateaubriand cites in this discussion. There follows an account of Arthur's ancestors which leads him back to Brut. Chateaubriand fails to understand continued search for the origin of the « merveilles » of the knights of the Round Table in the *faux Turpin* when they actually exist in the « *Faits et gestes de Karle le Grand* », written by a monk of St. Gall in 884 (*E. L. A.*, p. 33). Wace has, moreover, in the « roman du Rou » told the history of the fairies of the « Forêt de Bréchéliant » in Brittany. Though Wace himself wrote about the fairies, he failed to find them when he visited the forest ; but the author of the *Essai* fared differently, he tells us. An Anglo-Saxon, whose name we do not know, continued the *Brut d'Angleterre*, which includes « un ingénieux épisode » related by Chateaubriand (*E. L. A.*, pp. 33-34). As is evident, there is little or no criticism here and what there is has its origin in De la Rue. Chateaubriand has simply stated so many facts, chiefly lists of names of authors and of their works with occasional quotations. These are strung together with no connecting links and fill three and one half pages.

Passing over the intervening material, we turn to Chaucer's time. Gower, whose name is written as Bower, Chaucer's predecessor by several years, wrote in English as well as in French and « réussissait beaucoup mieux en français qu'en anglais » (*E. L. A.*, p. 45 ; De la Rue, III, p. 271). Froissart, we are told, « n'a rien qui puisse

se comparer pour l'élégance et la grâce à cette ballade : *Amour est chose merveilleuse* » by Gower, which appeared in *De la Rue*, III, pp. 272-3, and, in part, in the *Essai*. The polish and finish characteristic of the Old French language, but not to such a high degree of the English language of the same period, are evident in it. The eventful life of Chaucer, the writer who did most toward making this period famous, is dismissed in one sentence, which includes also a clue to the source of his inspiration. « Courtisan, Lancastrien, Wiceliste, infidèle à ses convictions, traître à son parti, tantôt banni, tantôt voyageur, tantôt en disgrâce Chaucer avait rencontré Pétrarque à Padoue ; au lieu de remonter aux sources saxonnes, il emprunta le goût de ses chants aux troubadours provençaux et à l'amant de Laure et le caractère de ses contes, à Bocace ». Though Chaucer's whole first period of literary activity was strongly influenced by French literature and especially by the *Roman de la Rose*, Chateaubriand says only that « il emprunta le goût de ses chants aux troubadours provençaux ». He summarizes *The court of Love* (1) and the *Ploughman* (2), both of which he considers works of Chaucer. Of the latter he quotes two stanzas and says that it has « verve » (*E. L. A.*, p. 46). *The Canterbury Tales* were written « à son château de Dunnington sous le chêne de Chaucer dans la forme du Décameron » (*E. L. A.*, p. 46). Thus does Chateaubriand dismiss the work on which the fame of the English poet rests. The poem on liberty by Barbour, a contemporary of Chaucer, is said to contain « un sentiment immortel » which has

1. Tyrwhitt, whom Chateaubriand knew, had attributed this poem to Chaucer ; it has since, however, been proved spurious, (Skeat, *Supplement to Chaucer's works*, pp. LXXII-LXXIV).

2. *The Ploughman's Tale*, which Chateaubriand designates in this fashion, « is absent from all the manuscripts of Chaucer's works ; and it does not appear that the ascription of it to him was taken seriously », says Skeat (*Chaucer, Works, Supplement*, pp. XXXII-XXXIII).

communicated to the language « une immortelle jeunesse ». To prove that « le style, et les mots n'ont presque point vieilli », *ibid.*, p. 47, Chateaubriand quotes a stanza and then translates it. He concludes this chapter with the comment that « nos poètes en France étaient loin alors de la dignité de ce langage que Dante avait fait connaître à l'Italie » (*E. L. A.*, p. 47).

The ballads, which we shall discuss next, are simple without being « naïve ». « La simplicité vient du cœur » (p. 54). The two most famous are the « Children in the Wood » and the « Song of the Willow », both of which Chateaubriand may have found in Percy's *Reliques*. The last mentioned ballad has been used by Shakespeare, who has changed it. Robin Hood is the subject of many ballads, which are like the « complaintes latines de la Jacquerie » or the « confessions de potence que le peuple répétait dans nos rues » (*E. L. A.*, pp. 54-5) *Lady Anne Bothwell*, another of these ballads, « est le Dors, mon enfant de Berquin ; le Friar est l'aventure du père Arsène qui vient du Comte de Cominges » (p. 55). In one sentence Chateaubriand sums up the content of « une très belle ballade » *Hunting in Chevy Chase*. On the two most unusual ballads he dwells at greater length. It is not necessary to know English to feel the rhythm of these, for « la mesure tombe aussi marquée que celle d'une valse » (p. 55). After making his readers acquainted with the form, he says that the language is not « tout à fait du temps où elles furent composées ; le style en paraît rajeuni » (p. 55). The story of *Sir Cauline*, one of these unusual ballads, is told and then the author proceeds to the other *Childe-Walers*. The word Childe is frequently used, he says, by the old English poets as a kind of title (*E. L. A.*, p. 56 ; Percy, *Reliques*, 3 : 54). In this ballad, life is pictured « dans ce qu'elle a d'intime et de pathétique » (*E. L. A.*, p. 56). Chateaubriand compares this ballad to Homer in the word for word repetitions which one character makes of another's speech. A long passage from *Childe-Walers*

is cited here in the French and the remainder of the story is told by Chateaubriand. To this admirer of Byron suddenly comes the thought that there may be some resemblance between *Childe-Harold* and this ballad. He, therefore, puts his thought in the form of a question and asks it here. The idea of this ballad may possibly have been suggested by the tenth « nouvelle » of the *Décameron*, the only difference being « la différence de la nature humaine anglaise et de la nature humaine italienne ». This first part of the *Essai* terminates with a general statement that the early English literature is spoken rather than written and has therefore the advantages and disadvantages of improvisation. The poetry is simple and incorrect and the history is curious, but limited to individual experience (*E. L. A.*, p. 61). Of this whole first period there is very little real criticism. It is done in text-book fashion, hurriedly, inexactly, and with much information taken from secondary sources.

The second part of the *Essai* is included under the title « Littérature sous les Tudors » and consists in the main of a study of the Reformation and of Shakespeare. Before proceeding to the latter, we might mention here earlier criticism of this author, which is found in an article on Shakespeare of April, 1801. Even before this, in 1800, in an article on England, Chateaubriand has stated the English estimate of Shakespeare at that time. « Shakespeare seul conserve son empire ». To explain Shakespeare's continued popularity, he tells of his experience with a sailor at Covent-Garden, who mistook the theater for a garden, and says that Shakespeare would be popular only among such people (*Voyages et Mélanges littéraires*, p. 332). He concludes that « Un peuple qui a toujours été à peu près barbare dans les arts peut continuer à admirer des productions barbares » (*ibid.*, p. 333). Another explanation is given of Shakespeare's celebrity in the article on Young of March, 1801. « Quelques situations tragiques, quelques mots sortis

des entrailles de l'homme, je ne sais quoi de vague et de fantastique dans les scènes, des bois, des bruyères, des vents, des spectres, des tempêtes expliquent la célébrité de Shakespeare » (*Voyages et Mélanges littéraires* : « Young », p. 335). At the beginning of his article on Shakespeare, Chateaubriand repeats for us the opinions both favorable and unfavorable of earlier critics both French and English, beginning with Voltaire (*cf.* also *E. L. A.*, p. 102 ff.). He concludes with such a statement as this : « Je ne citerai point les opinions de » followed by a list of names (*ibid.*, p. 348). In the course of these criticisms, we find Chateaubriand agreeing with La Harpe who « présenta dans tout leur jour les grossières irrégularités de Shakespeare et vengea la scène française » (*ibid.*, p. 346). Again, speaking in a similar vein he says : « On ne se délasse au théâtre anglais des monstruosilés de Shakespeare que par les horreurs d'Otway » (*Voyages et Mélanges littéraires*, p. 348). Though he points out these irregularities and monstrosities, and disagrees with the favorable English critics, he is favorable more frequently than unfavorable in his comments on Shakespeare, except when it is a question of style and dramatic art.

Turning to his study of Shakespeare, he announces three points of view. If one considers the relation of Shakespeare to his age, « on ne peut jamais trop admirer Shakespeare », *Voyages et Mélanges littéraires* (p. 348). Chateaubriand finds Shakespeare perhaps superior to Lope de Vega and incomparable as far as Garnier and Hardy are concerned. It is true that some of the classical dramas had been translated into English at the time of Shakespeare. Yet we do not find him borrowing from them, but rather from English imitations of the original Latin or Greek play. This is true of *Romeo and Juliet* and of *Hamlet* (*E. L. A.*, p. 108-109). Shakespeare's failure to consult the original plays is probably due to his lack of education. A comparison with Molière closes this first part. Both were compelled to take to the stage

for the purpose of earning a living. « L'un a retrouvé l'art dramatique, l'autre l'a porté à sa perfection ; semblables à deux philosophes anciens, ils s'étaient partagé l'empire des ris et des larmes, et tous les deux se consolaient peut-être des injustices de la fortune, l'un en peignant les travers, et l'autre les douleurs des hommes » (*cf.* also *E. L. A.*, p. 108).

As far as his native talent, or his « génie » is concerned, Shakespeare « n'est pas moins prodigieux ». Chateaubriand doubts whether a man has ever had deeper insight into human nature (*cf.* also *E. L. A.*, p. 114). This is the proper point of view from which to regard individual scenes from Shakespeare's plays and not that of dramatic art. The poet's admirers have chosen the last criterion and have erred, since the « ' non erat his locus ' se présente à toutes les pages » (*Voyages et mélanges littéraires*, p. 350). Basing his judgment on the correct principle, Chateaubriand declares that the third scene of the fourth act (1) of *Macbeth*, here quoted in French, is full of truth and « énergie » in its description of the misfortunes of Scotland. This portrait is comparable, according to him, to another of Athens in Xenophon's *History of Greece* which is cited (*ibid.*, p. 351). The conversation between Ross and Macduff recalls that between Flavian and Curiace when Flavian announces to Curiace the choice of champions. « Les interrogations de Macduff et de Curiace sont des beautés du même ordre... Mais le mot de Shakespeare, ' Il n'a point d'enfants ! ' reste sans parallèle » (p. 352). Chateaubriand's criticism of this scene ceases at that point ; he does not explain to his reader in what particular the unparalleled beauty consists.

« Le même homme qui a tracé ce tableau a écrit la scène charmante des adieux de Roméo et Juliette », which he then gives, mostly in translation. Chateaubriand thinks that the contrast between the « charmes

1. A part of this scene, too, is quoted in the *Essai*, p. 351.

du matin et les derniers plaisirs des deux jeunes époux » and the horrible catastrophe is exceedingly touching. It is more « naïf » than the Greeks and less pastoral than the *Aminie* and the *Pastor fido*. In the freshness of its images Chateaubriand compares it to a scene from the *Saontala* which he quotes. This scene is, however, original with Shakespeare. It leads Chateaubriand to speak of the English writer's abundant use of contrast (1). He furnishes a striking example from *Romeo and Juliet*, namely, the arrival of the musicians, engaged for the marriage of Juliet, at the time of her funeral. Two quotations from Greek tragedies show that the ancients, too, made use of the same device.

Shakespeare moreover, « comme tous poètes tragiques, a trouvé quelquefois le véritable comique, tandis que les poètes comiques n'ont jamais pu s'élever à la bonne tragédie » (*Voyages*, p. 355 ; cf. also *E. L. A.*, p. 109). In explaining this proposition, Chateaubriand decides that Molière is a possible exception in his *Tartufe* and *Misanthrope*. The character of Falstaff, much admired by the English, is well depicted, but often « d'un comique peu naturel, bas et outré ». A short digression on the two kings (2) of ridicule follows and then Chateaubriand continues with the question of « le naturel de son style ». He concedes naturalness of sentiment and thought but will not admit it of expression « excepté dans les belles scènes où son génie s'élève à sa plus grande hauteur ». But even there his language is often affected, since he has all the faults of his Italian contemporaries. « Ses descriptions sont enflées, contournées (3) ; on y sent souvent l'homme de mauvaise éducation, qui, ne connaissant ni les genres, ni les tons, ni les sujets, ni la

1. Cf. *E. L. A.*, p. 110.

2. Cf. de Staël, *Œuvres*, I, p. 263-4, for a discussion of « La gaieté française et 'l'humour' anglais ».

3. Cf. « Néanmoins on trouve encore dans Shakespeare quelques tournures recherchées à côté de la plus énergique peinture des passions », de Staël, *Œuvres*, I, p. 259.

valeur exacte des mots, va plaçant au hasard des expressions poétiques au milieu des choses les plus triviales » (*Voyages*, p. 355-6). The portrayal of the apothecary in *Romeo and Juliet*, « le burlesque le plus hideux et le plus dégoûtant », is brightened by a happy reflection on the part of Romeo, which Chateaubriand has compared to a similar expression of feeling on the part of Achilles in Homer.

With the discussion of Shakespeare's dramatic art, Chateaubriand returns to the adversely critical attitude of 1800. All favorable comment of Shakespeare as a dramatic author is contained in Johnson's criticism, which Chateaubriand translates. « Tout ce raisonnement tend à prouver *qu'il n'y a point de règles dramatiques*, ou que l'art n'est pas un art ». Given no rules, « rien n'était plus aisé que d'égaliser les chefs-d'œuvre du théâtre anglais » (*Voyages*, p. 356). Writing is an art of which there are several kinds, each of which carries with it certain rules based on nature. According to this reasoning, Racine « dans toute l'excellence de son art, est plus naturel que Shakespeare » (*ibid.*, p. 356 ; cf. also *E. L. A.*, p. 111). Shakespeare has broken all rules, confused all genres, and « blessé toutes les vraisemblances », but critics admit that he put action on the stage and that he developed terror more fully than the French writers of tragedy. But the latter, according to Chateaubriand, need not introduce on the French stage « les monstruosités de cet homme ». « Une beauté dans Shakespeare n'excuse pas ses innombrables défauts » (*Voyages et Mélanges littéraires*, p. 357). The assertion that Shakespeare is a great master in the art of « faire verser des larmes » is not considered of much worth by Chateaubriand, since he does not know « s'il est vrai que le premier des arts soit celui de faire pleurer » (1). Cha-

1. The discussion which follows rather reminds us of M^{me} de Staël's words : « Cette répugnance orgueilleuse pour l'enthousiasme de l'obéissance, qui a été de tout temps le caractère des Anglais, a dû

teaubriand recalls a situation in Sophocles which causes him to conclude his article with a digression on the subject of the literary quarrel of his day.

Before committing himself, Chateaubriand calls to the reader's attention the opinions of various critics, both English and French, favorable and unfavorable, who have preceded him in discussing Shakespeare. In this listing of others' opinions we find him siding with the saner men, as he would call them, or with those who are absolutely not in favor of the English dramatist. In order to be logical in his treatment of the English writer, Chateaubriand has considered him from three angles. In relation to his age his praises can not be sung too highly, for he compares favorably to his Spanish and French contemporaries. Under this heading we are enlightened as to Shakespeare's sources. With these meagre statements, with little or no detailed proof added, Chateaubriand passes on to the « génie » of Shakespeare which consists in his marvelous insight into human nature. « Les belles scènes isolées » from his works should be considered in this light. Examples of such scenes are that between Macduff and Malcom and Ross (*Macbeth*, IV, 3) and the parting scene of *Romeo and Juliet*, both of which are quoted in part and translated. The first is said to be forceful and true and is compared to a scene from *Horace* but is said to be unparalleled. Through comparison, again, enters the criticism of *Romeo and Juliet*. In the use of contrast, of circumstances in this scene, a use that is frequent in Shakespeare, Chateaubriand finds the greatest beauty. As for dramatic art, since that to the French mind consists,

inspirer à leur poète national l'idée d'obtenir l'attendrissement plutôt par la pitié que par l'admiration. Les larmes que nous donnons aux sublimes caractères de nos tragédies, l'auteur anglais les fait couler pour la souffrance obscure, abandonnée, pour cette suite d'infortunes qu'on ne peut connaître dans Shakespeare sans acquérir quelque chose de l'expérience même de la vie » (*Œuvres*, I, p. 258).

after the fashion of the classicists, in adherence to rules, Shakespeare seems to lack it. Racine is more natural than Shakespeare according to our critic. With this final unfavorable word we go back to a condemnation of the Englishman's style, which is natural only in the greatest scenes and even there characterized by affectation. Thus Chateaubriand states his conclusions, and renders his article impressionistic and by no means logical.

In the *Génie* there is but one sentence dealing with Shakespeare. « Shakespeare, Richardson, Goldsmith ont mis le prêtre en scène avec plus ou moins de bonheur » (*Génie*, II^e part., liv. II, chap. ix, p. 196). The *Défense* contains one line from the *Tempest* « ' The clouds-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces ' » (*Défense du Génie*, XIII, and note 4). Writing in London in 1822 of the time of his earlier sojourn in England as an « émigré », Chateaubriand says (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 189), « Toutefois, de grandes figures demeuraient. On retrouvait partout Milton et Shakespeare ». Did the French ambassadors to England under Elisabeth and James I ever hear « un baladin acteur dans ses propres farces et dans celles des autres ? » (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 189 ; and *E. L. A.*, p. 98) Again a comparison is made of Shakespeare the « bateleur » to Molière the « histrion ». Some account of the Englishman's love affairs is inserted here. « Il est un grand fantôme (1) l'ombre du moyen âge qui se levait sur le monde comme l'astre de la nuit » at a moment when the Middle Ages were coming to a close (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 189 ; and *E. L. A.*, p. 98). Milton's criticism of the poet is quoted by Chateaubriand here

1. Cf. *E. L. A.*, p. 125. « Loin d'être un chef de civilisation rayonnant au sein de la barbarie, Shakespeare, dernier-né du moyen âge, était un Barbare se dressant dans les rangs de la civilisation en progrès, et la rentrant au passé. Il ne fut point une étoile solitaire, il marcha de concert avec des astres dignes de son firmament, Camoëns, Tasse, Ercilla, Lope de Vega, Caldéron ».

as well as in the *Essai*. Shakespeare like Byron was « lame by fortune's dearest spite » (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 190). An abrégé, of sonnet LXXI is found here in the *Mémoires*. « Appuyé (1) sur ces fronts tragiques [of Henry VIII and Charles I] le grand tragique s'enfonça dans la tombe ; il remplit l'intervalle des jours où il vécut, de ses spectres, de ses rois aveugles, de ses ambitieux punis, de ses femmes infortunées, afin de joindre par des fictions analogues les réalités du passé aux réalités de l'avenir » (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 192 ; and *E. L. A.*, p. 129). He is one of five or six great geniuses in the world. Chateaubriand repeats his declaration of 1800, i. e. England is all Shakespeare, and adds « Il a prêté sa langue à Byron, son dialogue à Walter Scott » (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 192). In the *Mémoires* of September, 1833 (*M. d'O.-T.*, VI, p. 114-115) there are two quotations from *A Winter's Tale*. The same year Chateaubriand writes (*ibid.*, p. 228) « mais, ô puissance du génie : aucun voyageur n'entendra jamais chanter l'alouette dans les champs de Vérone sans se rappeler Shakespeare » ; and a little later he quotes from *Othello* (*ibid.*, p. 267).

From the jotted comments that appeared in the interim between April, 1801, and the *Essai sur la Littérature* of 1836, we gather, then, one more side light on Shakespeare's life. He acted in his own farces, says Chateaubriand, and that leads him to a comparison, detrimental to Shakespeare, of Shakespeare to Molière. We have the usual sprinkling of quotations and a partial list of typical Shakespearean characters. Milton's criticism is added to the list of comments noted at the beginning of the article of 1801. In 1833 Chateaubriand speaks again of the powerful genius of the English dramatist and exceeds his praise of 1801 by counting him as one of the world's five or six greatest. Once he allows Milton to share with Shakespeare the popularity of the English people ; but later he cedes the lion's share to

1. Cf. *E. L. A.* p. 129.

Shakespeare. Popular as he is with the masses, he is also popular with the English writers of Chateaubriand's time, on two of whom he has left his influence. Chateaubriand has, then, merely added details to the general outline which he had stated for the first time in 1801. The only new line of comment is that concerning the characters in Shakespeare's plays.

From this study of Chateaubriand's early opinion of Shakespeare we can readily see a reason for his saying : « J'avais à faire amende honorable d'une partie de mes jugements sur Shakespeare et Dante » (*E. L. A.*, p. 155). In « Que j'ai mal jugé Shakespeare autrefois », he explains that he had applied the principles of the Classicists to Shakespeare and so had failed to observe the ensemble (1) (*E. L. A.*, p. 100). He had also followed the classic school « qui ne mêlait pas la vie des auteurs à leurs ouvrages » and thus deprives them of a powerful means of appreciation. He deplores the present false admirers of Shakespeare who are roused to enthusiasm by his faults (*E. L. A.*, p. 101).

His genius explains his ability to overcome, among other obstacles, his scanty learning. Samuel Johnson and the English in general feel that Shakespeare « était plutôt doué du génie comique que du génie tragique » (p. 109). Be that as it may, Chateaubriand confesses that the French do not understand Falstaff, but they can appreciate Desdemona, since there is only one way of crying. His « génie », which has been compared to the equestrian statue of Philip IV and to Notre-Dame de Paris, has the additional characteristic of « la puissance créatrice » (p. 110). « Le caractère dominant du fondateur du théâtre anglais, se forme de la nationalité, de l'élo-

1. In the end, though, he thinks more of parts of Shakespeare than of the whole of any one of his works. « Mais enfin pleine et entière justice étant rendue à des suavités de pinceau et d'harmonie, je dois dire que les ouvrages de l'ère romantique gagnent beaucoup à être cités par extraits » (*E. L. A.*, p. 120). Cf. *ibid.*, p. 103, Johnson's criticism of Shakespeare.

quence, des observations, des pensées, des maximes tirées de la connaissance du cœur humain, et applicables aux diverses conditions de l'homme ; il se forme surtout de l'abondance de la vie » (*E. L. A.*, p. 110).

After developing the notes suggested in the *Mélange^s littéraires* about the relation of Shakespeare to his age, Chateaubriand concludes that « le génie même de son temps soufflait à Shakespeare son génie » (*E. L. A.*, p. 128). As for the subjects, though he is a « peintre de tant de noirs tableaux » (p. 132), universality characterizes them. « Il met en mouvement la société entière, ainsi qu'il déroule en entier la vie d'un homme » (*E. L. A.*, p. 111). « Cette universalité de Shakespeare a, par l'autorité de l'exemple et l'abus de l'imitation servi à corrompre l'art ; elle a fondé l'erreur sur laquelle s'est malheureusement établie la nouvelle école dramatique » (*E. L. A.*, p. 111).

The best of Shakespeare's works include *Macbeth*, *Richard III*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet* (p. 113). The quotations from *Macbeth* and *Romeo and Juliet* are the same as those found in the earlier article, as are also the comments. The scene of the three queens from *Richard III* is deemed one of the strongest on the stage. « C'est là du tragique, et du tragique au plus haut degré » (p. 114). *Hamlet*, a tragedy of mad people, is called a « Bedlam royal », « un odéon des ombres » (p. 108). Probably because he does not esteem any too highly the famous monologue, Chateaubriand quotes here in French Gertrude's account of Ophelia's death. In addition, Chateaubriand cites a scene from *A Winter's Tale* and from *Othello*.

Chateaubriand is interested in the character of Shakespeare's women, who all have « une idéalité ravissante » (*E. L. A.*, p. 117). « Rapprochez lady Macbeth et Marguerite de Desdémone, d'Ophélie, de Miranda, de Cordélie, de Jessica, de Perdita, d'Imogène et vous serez émerveillés de la souplesse du talent du poète ». And yet, he says there is only one type. They are all

so young that they are almost children ; « elles ont le même sourire, le même regard, le même son de voix ; si l'on effaçait leurs noms, ou si l'on fermait les yeux, on ne saurait laquelle d'entre elles a parlé » (p. 120). With this statement we do not agree, neither does Chateaubriand just above. Compare Lady Macbeth and Ophelia. Surely they could not be confused. Chateaubriand excuses Shakespeare for the fault of which he accuses him, since he did not always have time to paint the sketches he had first made (p. 120). « Ces ombres ossianiques » can not be compared to the women of the French or Greek tragedies who uphold « à elles seules le poids d'une tragédie » (p. 120-1). Perhaps Chateaubriand forgot Lady Macbeth. More explicitly : « Que sont enfin toutes les filles de Shakespeare auprès d'Esther ? » (*E. L. A.*, p. 122).

Chateaubriand has reversed his opinion of the style of Shakespeare also. His dialogue is now considered simple and natural. « Quelle franchise ! quel contraste comme dans la vie ! quel rapprochement de tous les langages, de toutes les sciences, de tous les rangs de la société » (*E. L. A.*, p. 101). At times, however, dignity is lacking in his style (*ibid.*, p. 105). Of Shakespeare's sonnets, which before this time he mentioned only in passing, he says : « Des jeux d'esprit gâtent ces effusions érotiques, mais leur harmonie avait fait surnommer l'auteur le poète à la langue de miel » (*E. L. A.*, p. 135). Those which he cites have « plus de poésie, d'imagination, de mélancolie que de sensibilité, de passion et de profondeur. Shakespeare aime, mais il ne croit pas plus à l'amour qu'il ne croyait à autre chose » (*ibid.*, p. 137). Other critics would have us believe, on the contrary, that the sonnets express « every phase of the emotion of love ». If this is true, they must also be characterized by « sensibilité, passion, profondeur ».

Here, then, Chateaubriand has acknowledged his early, partially unjust criticism of Shakespeare, giving as excuse the classical criteria. He has repeated the cri-

ticisms of Voltaire stated in 1801 ; and once started on the path of quotation he notes the comments of English critics. He avoids here the lists of names found in the article of 1801 ; that is, he restates some comment of every critic whom he mentions. He omits some of those of his previous articles, quotes comments differing from those of the early article, and finally adds such names as Dryden, Shaftesbury, Tate, and Lansdown. His faults are now excused on the ground that they are due to the age (1) in which he lived. They consist chiefly in faults of taste and diction, examples of which are occasional lack of dignity of language, in general, and the « jeux d'esprit » of the sonnets. A discussion of the age of Shakespeare necessitates a short survey of the « Etat matériel du théâtre en Angleterre au xvii^e siècle » (*E. L. A.*, p. 106 ff.). In overcoming obstacles Shakespeare's genius is all the more remarkable. Two comparisons are added to the earlier article as well as a certain emphasis on the English dramatist's creative powers. He has « mis en mouvement la société entière, ainsi qu'il déroule en entier la vie d'un homme » (*E. L. A.*, p. 111), and by so doing he has caused his imitators to corrupt the art of writing drama. With this statement Chateaubriand recurs to an expression of his earlier sentiments about the rules of drama and continues with a statement of the abuses of his day which compares so unfavorably with that of the classicists and the ancients. He states his preferences among the plays of Shakespeare and quotes the same scenes as before. The speeches of individual characters appear here also ; and they are often charming in style. His typically unhappy women of the early article now are called by name and quotation is made from the plays in which they occur. Yet often enough the romantic

1. Cf. M^{me} de Staël : « Il y a dans Shakespeare des beautés du premier genre, et de tous les pays comme de tous les temps, *des défauts qui appartiennent à son siècle.....* » (*Œuvres*, I, p. 257).

takes the place of the tragic. The women of Shakespeare's plays can not compare with the women of the Greek and French stage. Not content with an account of the stage in Shakespeare's day, Chateaubriand adds an account of all the achievements of his century. That concluded, he gives us some idea of Shakespeare's contemporaries and finally of Shakespeare's life. In spite of his mental reservations which have been pointed out, Chateaubriand considers Shakespeare one of the five or six writers « qui ont suffi aux besoins et à l'aliment de la pensée » (*E. L. A.*, p. 137). After 1836 there is only occasional mention of Shakespeare in the *Mémoires*. In Carrel's account of the suicide of M. Sautelet

« To die, to sleep
To sleep ! perchance to dream ! »

is quoted (VI, p. 397). In 1839 Shakespeare and Milton are still the outstanding characters in English literature for Chateaubriand, for he says that he might have stayed in the home of these two great men, had he not been married (*M. d'O.-T.*, IV, p. 209). He recalls the witches of *Macbeth*, when he speaks of his halt outside of Ecluse and his wait for the gates to open (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 484). A letter from Napoleon is said to mingle tragedy and comedy just as do Shakespeare's plays (*M. d'O.-T.*, III, p. 228). Finally, speaking of his own « mémoires », he says, « ils peignent l'humanité complète en exposant comme les tragédies de Shakespeare les scènes basses et hautes » (*M. d'O.-T.*, IV, p. 1-2).

Chateaubriand has indeed made amends for his earlier severe and unjust criticisms of Shakespeare, which were made under the influence of preceding adverse critics and because of an imperfect knowledge of the great English master. In 1836 Chateaubriand seems to realize the special wonder of Shakespeare's characters, to each of whom a large amount of individuality is given. He does not yet, however, grasp the fact that Shakespeare was master of the English lan-

guage. Perhaps this is too much to expect of a person who himself has a none too perfect understanding of this foreign speech. With the exception of a mere mention of Falstaff, Chateaubriand only deals with the tragedies of the « Aeschyle britannique » (*E. L. A.*, p. 104). He admits that « nous autres Français nous avons de la peine à sentir le *vis comica* de Faltstaff » (*ibid.*, p. 109). If this failure to understand applies to all of Shakespeare's comedies, as we are inclined to believe, we know why it is that his criticisms omit this side of Shakespeare's genius. Chateaubriand is aware, we gather from his comments, of Shakespeare's universality but does not realize that it applies to the female characters as well as to the male.

Ducis in the last half of the eighteenth century had translated and adapted Shakespeare's plays to the French stage in accordance with the prevalent ideas of taste, which were not changed by the Revolution. « Shakespeare, who puts low people on the stage, continued to inspire a feeling of disgust » (Jusserand, *Shakespeare in France under the Ancien Régime*, chap. I, p. 441). Chateaubriand, as we have seen, followed this tendency in his early criticism. In 1822, Shakespeare was played in English in France and hissed off the stage (1). A second attempt in 1827-8 to put Shakespeare on the French stage in the English language proved successful. Victor Hugo, the mouthpiece of the Romantic school, was heartily in favor of Shakespeare. Chateaubriand, therefore, followed the Romantic tide in his change of opinion from 1800-1836. We may apply to the latter date the judgment made by M. Jusserand. « To believe that Shakespeare has become acclimatized in France, that his genius has penetrated and transformed the French mind, is an error. He is known, the beauty and

1. Another proof of the renewed interest in Shakespeare is Stendhal's book entitled *Racine et Shakespeare, Etudes sur le romantisme*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy.

grandeur of his poetry is felt... » (Jusserand, p. 466). On the whole, Chateaubriand's appreciation of Shakespeare was that of the average cultured Frenchman of his day.

Milton, who is the next person of importance in the *Essai* and to whom is devoted about four-fifths of the space allotted to « littérature sous les deux premiers Stuarts et pendant la république » has already been discussed. Butler whom we have chosen as a representative of « Littérature sous les deux derniers Stuarts » is the author of *Hudibras*, the « Don Quichotte politique ». « Cette satire pleine de verve contre les personnages de la révolution charmaient une cour où se montraient la débauche de Rochester et la grâce de Grammont » (*E. L. A.*, p. 249). The subject is not as happy a one as that of the *Satire Ménippée* of 1594. The author is remarkably endowed with the power of observation, which would have enabled him to write a history of Charles I, had he been born during the reign of Anne (p. 249). These brief comments on the political writings of Butler carry the author into the field of politics in England, one of his favorite topics.

« Littérature sous la maison d'Hanovre » focuses our attention on the English Romanticists. As Chateaubriand is rightly called the father of the French Romantic movement, it is important that we study his criticisms of the English followers of this movement. Gray and Young, poets of the transition period in English literature were known to Chateaubriand before his exile. Gray's *Elegy*, translated as early as 1765 by the *Gazette littéraire*, was widely known in France in the eighteenth century. Parts of the *Elegy* are translated and quoted by Chateaubriand together with the *Ode on a Distant View of Eton* at intervals from 1800 to 1836 (cf. *M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 218-219 ; and V, p. 20). In his article on Young, March, 1801, we find this statement : « Gray, dans son *Ode sur une vue lointaine du collège d'Eton*, a répandu cette (même) douceur de souvenirs » (*Voyages et Mélanges*

littéraires, p. 341). Chateaubriand continues with the discussion of English writers who have described misfortunes recollected ; and then discusses « la tristesse religieuse ». « En exceptant Gray et Hervey, je ne connais parmi les écrivains protestants, que M. Necker qui ait répandu quelque tendresse sur les sentiments tirés de la religion » (*Voyages et mélanges littéraires*, p. 342). A year later he speaks of another ode by the same author only to show that there is in it no recollection of Ossian (*Génie*, p. xxxvi). In January, 1803, Chateaubriand in *Sur le printemps d'un proscrit*, poème par M. J. Michaud, says that Michaud would have done better to follow more closely the English poet Gray whom he was imitating. « Il a substitué l'image de l'or enfoui dans les entrailles de la terre, à celle de la perle cachée dans le sein des mers ; la fleur qui ne montre qu'au désert ses couleurs passagères, n'est peut-être pas exactement la fleur qui est née pour rougir sans être vue (is born to blush unseen).

Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
The dark unfathom'd caves of ocean bear
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness in the desert air.

Nous avons essayé autrefois de rendre ainsi ces quatre vers, qu'on doit juger avec indulgence, car nous ne sommes pas poète :

Ainsi brille la perle au fond des vastes mers ;
Ainsi (1) passent aux champs des roses solitaires
Qu'on ne voit point rougir, et qui, loin des bergères,
D'inutiles parfums embaument les déserts »

(*Voyages et mélanges littéraires*, p. 420).

This imitation would bear out the statement in the *Essai* : « Qui ne l'a pas imité ? » (*E. L. A.*, p. 272). In the *Essai*, there is continued quotation, and citation

1. Cf. « Ainsi meurent aux champs des roses passagères » (*Romans et poésies diverses*, p. 568).

of the critic's own imitation of Gray, also more extended criticism. « Gray a trouvé sur la lyre une série d'accords et d'inspirations inconnus de l'antiquité » (*E. L. A.*, p. 272). The *Elegy* proves that « un écrivain peut rêver sans cesser d'être noble et naturel, sans mépriser l'harmonie » (*E. L. A.*, p. 273). If we are to believe Chateaubriand's statement . « Le premier vers de la célèbre élégie de Gray est une traduction presque littérale du dernier vers de ces délicieux tercets du Dante. 'Eragia l'ora che volge'l desio' ... » (*E. L. A.*, p. 272). As is evident from the frequency of quotation the *Ode on a Distant View of Eton* is as much liked by Chateaubriand as the *Elegy*. Parts of the *Ode* he considers equal to the *Elegy* (*ibid.*, p. 273). One reason for his appreciation of the *Ode* may be found in this question. « Qui n'a éprouvé les sentiments et les regrets exprimés ici avec toute la douceur de la Muse ? » (*ibid.*, p. 274). To the spirit of melancholy breathed by his works is due, in Chateaubriand's opinion, his fame. « Il ne vit que dans un sourire mélancolique de ces Muses qu'il méprisait » (*E. L. A.*, p. 274). Gray is the initiator of a school of melancholy poets, « qui s'est transformée de nos jours dans l'école des poètes désespérés ». The prevailing sentiment of Gray's works has also struck a similar chord in Chateaubriand's nature and has therefore made a lasting impression on him.

A letter to the editors of the *Mercure de France* (*Correspondance*, I, p. 31) announces Chateaubriand's intention to begin his series of articles on things English with one on Young's *Nights*. In this we learn that Young's reputation is largely due to the « beau tableau qui présente l'ouverture de ses Nuits ou Complaintes » (*Voyages et mélanges littéraires*, « Young », p. 335, and *E. L. A.*, p. 269). This picture makes an instantaneous as well as lasting impression, the promise of which is not fulfilled because of the author's lack of naturalness, expressed by Chateaubriand in these words : « Vous voyez un homme qui tourmente son esprit dans tous les sens

pour enfanter des idées tendres et tristes, et qui n'arrive qu'à une philosophie morose » (*Voyages*, p. 336, and *E. L. A.*, pp. 269-270). This lack is noticeable in his « sensibilité » and in his grief. « C'est toujours une main pesante qui se traîne sur la lyre » (*Voyages*, p. 336). In Young « le sentiment se change en réflexion et en raisonnement »' (*Voyages et Mélanges littéraires*, p. 336). Since he strives with great effort for his effect, it is evident that his memories of misfortune lack the conviction of truth (*Voyages et mélanges littéraires*, p. 341, and *cf. E. L. A.*, p. 271). In this connection Chateaubriand points out that « le chantre des tombeaux n'a de ces retours attendrissants vers le premier âge de la vie, alors que tout est innocence et bonheur » (*Voyages*, p. 340). But how can Young write anything more natural, more true and more convincing, when his very « génie » lacks « éminemment », says Chateaubriand, « de tendresse » (*ibid.*, p. 340 ; *cf. E. L. A.*, p. 271). After lining up these points, Chateaubriand concludes that Young « n'est point l'homme de la douleur ; il ne plait point aux cœurs véritablement malheureux » (*Voyages*, p. 344).

Young has failed, moreover, in his desire to make his nature scenes heighten the effect of his laments (*ibid.*, p. 336 and *cf. E. L. A.*, p. 270). « Il apostrophe la lune, il parle à la nuit et aux étoiles, et l'on ne se sent point ému » (*Voyages*, p. 336 ; and *cf. E. L. A.*, p. 270). A quotation and translation of a passage of *Les nuits* follows, after which Chateaubriand concludes, « Young a donc premièrement ignoré, ou plutôt mal exprimé, cette tristesse, qui se nourrit du spectacle de la nature » (*ibid.*, p. 338). The final aspect under which Chateaubriand discusses Young is in his relation to poets who have written on similar subjects. « Hervey, dans ses *Méditations*, quoique d'un génie moins élevé que l'auteur des *Nuits*, a quelquefois montré une sensibilité plus douce et plus vraie » (*Voyages et mélanges littéraires*, p. 338). Not only does this English poet surpass Young,

but so does also Rousseau for « la page la plus rêveuse d'Young ne peut être comparée à ce passage de Rousseau » (*ibid.*, pp. 339-40 and *E. L. A.*, p. 270). The « souvenirs du malheur » of Young, moreover, « n'ont rien de ces accents de Gilbert, expirant à la fleur de l'âge, dans un hôpital et abandonné de ses amis » (*Voyages*, p. 339 ; and *E. L. A.*, p. 271).

In the *Essai*, the section devoted to Young begins with a sentence to the effect that Young was not a good master and that he has started a bad school (*E. L. A.*, p. 269). Practically all of the earlier criticisms, as indicated, are then repeated. To the comparisons made of Young to other poets, one is added by the *Essai*. « Ceux de nos bons écrivains qui ont connu le charme de la rêverie ont surpassé le docteur anglais ; Chaulieu a mêlé comme Horace, les pensées de la mort aux illusions de la vie » (*E. L. A.*, p. 270). Young declaims against solitude and « pleure sur les cendres de Narcissa sans attendrir le lecteur » (p. 272). Pichot in his *Voyage* (II, p. 272-3) had expressed the same sentiment before this time. « Young, hyperbolique et forcé, n'inspirant guère de sympathie, parce qu'il est trop théâtral dans ses plaintes comme dans ses déclamations... » This sentence practically resumes Chateaubriand's whole criticism of Young.

In those works of Chateaubriand which we have studied there appear only four comments on Thomson. In the *Mélanges littéraires* (p. 340-41) a portion of his *Seasons* is quoted. The *Génie* cites Thomson's poems as examples of poetry descriptive of « bois » and « déserts » (p. 617, note 16). *L'hiver* is considered his best poem and even that has « des détails d'une mortelle longueur » (*Génie*, II^e part., liv. IV, ch. III, p. 244). Thomson enters the *Essai* by way of comparison to Gray. « Thomson a exprimé, comme Gray, mais d'une autre manière, ses regrets des jours de l'enfance. ' Welcome, kindred glooms ' !..... » (*E. L. A.*, p. 274).

As early as 1819, Patin, in the *Lycée français*, spoke

of the novels of Scott, the next author considered in the *Essai*, as « véritables romans historiques » (Maigron, *Le Roman historique à l'époque romantique*, p. 103). From 1820 to 1830 Scott's works were popular and highly esteemed in France, so that it is worthy of note that Chateaubriand wrote in 1822 that Scott had created a false genre ; « il a selon moi » says our critic, « perverti le roman et l'histoire, le romancier s'est mis à faire des romans historiques, et l'historien des histoires romanesques » (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 197. Cf. also *E. L. A.*, p. 297). He is not alone in having such an opinion of Scott ; for M^{me} de Genlis and Jouy, who both aspired to the historical novel, also protested feebly against the pro-Scott current. And yet it is curious that Chateaubriand should make such a statement, since the same accusation has been brought against him, « Chateaubriand tissait, pour la première fois, et définitivement, la toile de fond du roman historique, s'il est vrai, comme le veut une spirituelle définition, que le roman historique ne soit que l'art de faire mouvoir des personnages faux dans un décor à peu près exact » (Maigron, *Le Roman historique à l'époque romantique*, p. 66). This he has done in *Les Martyrs*. Maigron continues, « ... pour la première fois, la description pittoresque était appliquée aux choses anciennes pour les reconstituer dans leur frappante réalité et les faire revivre... ce sixième livre [de *Les Martyrs*]... incomparable de pittoresque : il ne l'est moins d'intelligence, de pénétration et de fidélité historiques » (Maigron, *Le Roman historique à l'époque romantique*, p. 66).

To him Scott's merit is not so great as it is to the English. He must omit the interminable conversations he finds in Scott's works (cf. *M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 197 and *E. L. A.*, p. 297). He does not find « cette nature choisie, cette perfection de scènes, cette originalité, ces pensées, ces traits que je trouve dans Manzoni et dans plusieurs de nos romanciers modernes » (*E. L. A.*, p. 297). Yet one of his great merits lies in the fact that he can be put

in the hands of every one. He is also credited by Chateaubriand with starting the vogue of the Middle Ages. Of his manner of portraying characters, Chateaubriand says, « Il ne moule pas comme Richardson sur le type intérieur de l'homme ; il reproduit de préférence l'extérieur du personnage » (*E. L. A.*, p. 298). Maigron makes this a special talent of Chateaubriand. « Insuffisances d'analyses singulières, habileté et sûreté non moins singulières à décrire l'extérieur et à faire ainsi comprendre, à force d'exactitude, l'âme même des personnes ou des choses décrites, c'est tout le talent de Chateaubriand » (Maigron, *Le Roman historique à l'époque romantique*, p. 61). The account given in the *Essai* closes with commendation of Scott's « fantaisies », of which the picture of Rebecca in *Ivanhoe* is given as an example. Mézières, *Histoire critique de la littérature anglaise*, had already analyzed some ten works of Scott, including *Ivanhoe*. But Mézières was interested in the contrast of the characters of Rebecca and the pale Rowena.

All other comment on Scott, which is probably of a later date, is found in the *Mémoires*. In view of Chateaubriand's statements about Scott as the originator of a « faux genre », it is curious to note that all this final criticism deals with the *Vie de Napoléon*. In it is included an account of the Syrian massacres (*M. d'O.-T.*, III, p. 148). Scott has shown himself « de la plus grande impartialité ; il défend Napoléon comme il aurait défendu Alexandre contre les reproches dont on peut charger sa mémoire » (*M. d'O.-T.*, III, p. 164). Reason dominates his work. His critics have therefore been decidedly mistaken in accusing « l'illustre Ecossais de prévention contre un grand homme » (*M. d'O.-T.*, III, p. 164). Nevertheless, this work has been unsuccessful because, with one or two exceptions, his imagination has failed him here. « Il est ébloui par les succès fabuleux qu'il décrit, et comme écrasé par le merveilleux de la gloire » (*M. d'O.-T.*, III, p. 165). *The Life of Napoleon* lacks the large view which the English rarely have in

history (*M. d'O.-T.*, III, p. 165). This biography is exact except for certain mistakes of chronology.

The part on the detention of Napoleon in St. Helena is excellent. Chateaubriand quotes a few sentences to illustrate his points. « Après le récit de l'arrivée de Bonaparte à Fréjus, Scott, débarrassé des grandes scènes, retombe avec joie, dans son talent ; il s'en va en bavardant comme parle madame de Sévigné ; il devise du passage de Napoléon à l'île d'Elbe... » (*M. d'O.-T.*, III, p. 437-8). Chateaubriand, then, appreciated Scott's excellent sketches, such as that of Rebecca, and his chatty style. In spite of his severe criticism of Scott as a writer of historical novels, he seems to have recognized his « fascinated view of the past », one part of his two-fold Romanticism. On the other hand, « his ardent love for Scotland », his « intimate sympathy with Scotchmen », and his clever and faithful depiction of them, these qualities escape Chateaubriand.

As the English novel underwent a transformation which might have been traced to romanticism, so did also English poetry. « Cowper abandonna l'école française pour faire revivre l'école nationale ; Burns, en Ecosse, commença la même révolution » (*E. L. A.*, p. 299). Chateaubriand admires the energy and grace of Burns's works and considers the *Twae Dogs* and the *Cotters' Saturday Night* especially fine. His *Scots, who have with Wallace bled* would lose its charm if it were translated. Burns had written a number of drinking-songs, some of which describe village scenes ; yet « Toutes ces pièces pleines d' ' humour ' n'ont pas la verve des refrains de Désaugiers » (*E. L. A.*, p. 305). Restorers of the ballads are Coleridge, Wordsworth, Southey, Wilson, Campbell, Thomas Moore, Crabbe, Morgan, Rogers, Sheil and Hogg. Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming* (1) together with Moore's *Lalla Rookh* and Rogers's

1. Thomas tells us that Campbell's *Gertrude* was analyzed in the *Lycée français* (1819, t. II, p. 357) (*Thomas, Moore en France*, p. 18).

Pleasures of the memory have obtained a great success (*ibid.*, p. 299). Chateaubriand doubts the possibility of rendering into French the melodies of the bard of Erin, which « charment l'esprit et l'oreille d'un Anglais, d'un Irlandais, d'un Ecossais ».

A number of these poets belong to what is known as the Lake School, which took its name from the fact that its members lived in the vicinity of the Cumberland and Westmoreland lakes, and sometimes sang of these bodies of water. This brief dismissal of the Lake poets is in keeping with the « mépris foudroyant du grand Byron », (Smith, *l'Influence des Lakistes sur les Romantiques français*, p. 347), the idol of all Europe and the most interesting of all English romantic writers to Chateaubriand. From 1827 to 1831 is, according to Smith, the period at which the « lakistes », through the enthusiastic support of Pichot and Sainte-Beuve especially, have some slight influence on Hugo and Lamartine. The other French romanticists had the same attitude as Chateaubriand toward this school.

Bloomfield and Hogg are « muses du peuple » (*E. L. A.*, p. 300) of whom France had some representatives in Chateaubriand's time. Examples of the products of French « muses du peuple » are cited. The « chanson », as old in England as in France, has assumed all its various forms (p. 303). One — *The Seamen* by lord Dorset — is a composition « d'une verve élégante » (p. 303). A literal translation from Hennet, *Poétique anglaise* follows.

« Le doctor Beattie, poète écossais... a répandu dans son *Minstrel* la rêverie la plus aimable » (*Voyages et mélanges littéraires*, p. 339). He it was who announced the new era of the lyre (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 201). « Il a parcouru la série entière des rêveries et des idées mélancoliques, dont cent autres poètes se sont crus les *discovers* [sic]... » (*ibid.*, p. 202). The *Minstrel* is a « peinture des premiers effets de la Muse sur un jeune barde lequel ignore encore le génie dont il est tourmenté. Tantôt le poète futur va s'asseoir au bord de la mer pendant une

tempête ; tantôt il quitte les jeux du village pour écouter à l'écart et dans le lointain le son des musettes : le poème est écrit en stances rimées comme les vieilles ballades » (*M. d'O.-T.*, p. 201). The idea of the second part of his *Minstrel* is a happy but not well executed one (*ibid.*, p. 202). The very same criticisms with a quotation appended are repeated in the *Essai*.

Byron, who imitates the *Minstrel* in his early verse, was much admired by Chateaubriand in 1822, when there were few admirers of this poet in France. He was in advance of « les écrivains indépendants », of 1823, « qui ne sont pas gênés par la contradiction de leurs opinions politiques ou religieuses, et de leurs penchants littéraires et qui réalisent dès lors l'union du romantisme et des idées libérales » (Estève, *Byron et le romantisme français*, p. 111). The character of Byron appealed to Chateaubriand as we may see from the detailed comparison, in his *Mémoires* and the *Essai*, of himself to this English poet. « Il avait été élevé sur les bruyères de l'Ecosse, au bord de la mer, comme moi dans les landes de la Bretagne, au bord de la mer » (*E. L. A.*, p. 310). Both had liked the Bible and Ossian in their youth. Both sang the memories of their childhood. Two lines of *Newstead Abbey* in English and the remaining parts in French are inserted. Chateaubriand recalls his numerous walks to Harrow during his exile. He had sat in the cemetery where Byron had written : « Spot of my youth ! », which is also translated in part.

Not only were there these similarities in their youth, but their « fond d'idées » and destinies were about the same. *Childe-Harold* seems an embellished *Itinéraire* of Chateaubriand. Again quotations follow. Béranger, too, realised the kinship of the two writers. Since others are aware of this kinship and since Chateaubriand is famous, he wonders why it is that Lord Byron never made any reference to him. An explanation of Lord Byron's attitude is attempted by Chateaubriand in a fragment of the *Mémoires*, recently published by

Giraud. « Lorsque *Atala* parut, je reçus une lettre de Cambridge signée G. Gordon, Lord Byron. Lord Byron âgé de quinze ans était un astre non levé ». Chateaubriand at this moment found himself swamped with correspondence, much of which had to remain unanswered. He thinks he has answered the letter, but if he has not, we have a possible explanation of Byron's later absolute silence (Giraud, *Chateaubriand, Etudes littéraires*, p. 84-5 ; also *E. L. A.*, p. 315). « Lord Byron vivra, soit qu'enfant de son siècle comme moi, il en ait exprimé comme moi... la passion et le malheur ; soit que mes périples et le falot de ma barque gauloise aient montré la route au vaisseau d'Albion sur des mers inexplorables » (*E. L. A.*, p. 315). Chateaubriand continues the comparison by criticising their imitators unfavorably.

Byron's life has been the subject of much abuse. « Le Byron des imaginations échauffées » was a « monstre ». The poet accepted this rôle and played it. « Quant au caractère de son génie... il est assez resserré. Sa pensée poétique et passionnée n'est qu'un gémissement, une plainte, une imprécation ; en cette qualité, elle est admirable... » He is possessed of much and varied « esprit ». He has in common with his fellow-countrymen an affectation of originality and singularity (p. 317). In comparing J.-J. Rousseau to Byron, Chateaubriand says these two unhappy men « cherchaient de la rêverie, du malheur, des larmes, du désespoir, dans la solitude, les vents, les ténèbres, les tempêtes, les forêts, les mers, et venaient en composer pour leurs lecteurs, les tourments de *Childe-Harold* et de Saint-Preux, sur le sein de la *Padoana*, et *del Can de la Madona* » (p. 318).

Chateaubriand followed Byron to the Lido where he dreamed of the deceased English poet. « Elevait-il la voix pour confier à la tourmente les inspirations de son génie ? Est-ce au murmure de cette vague qu'il trouva ces accents mélancoliques ?

‘ If my fame should be as my fortunes are,
Of hasty growth and blight ’
(*E. L. A.*, p. 319).

As early as 1822 (in the *M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 212) Chateaubriand found these lines being fulfilled. His « génie » is better understood by the French than by his own country. « Comme Childe Harold excelle principalement à peindre les sentiments particuliers de l'individu, les Anglais, qui préfèrent les sentiments communs à tous, finiront par méconnaître le poète dont le cri est si profond et si triste. Qu'ils y prennent garde : s'ils brisent l'image de l'homme qui les a fait revivre, que leur restera-t-il ? » (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 212). « C'est le plus grand poète que l'Angleterre ait eu depuis Milton », exceedingly high praise from so ardent an admirer of Milton (*M. d'O.-T.*, II, p. 210).

The final comments are scattered and disconnected. Lord Byron's *Ode to Napoleon* is quoted in part in the *Mémoires* (III, p. 406). In this, Chateaubriand finds that Napoleon is treated in a most unworthy fashion. Byron's opinion of Napoleon is quoted (IV, p. 114 and IV, p. 70). From Rome in 1828-9 Chateaubriand wrote (*M. d'O.-T.*, V, p. 52) « il jeta son imagination désolée sur tant de ruines, comme un manteau de deuil. Rome ! tu avais un nom, il t'en donna un autre ; ce nom te restera, il t'appela 'la Niobé des nations...' » At Geneva in 1830 Chateaubriand hears again of Byron (*M. d'O.-T.*, V, p. 440).

It is the character of Byron and the exquisite melody of his lyric verse that appealed to Chateaubriand as well as to the other writers of the Romantic school. From 1825 on, the satiric side of Byron's works began to come to the attention of the French people. Chateaubriand realized its existence, but he, like his contemporaries before 1825, did not wish to see it (Estève, p. 198). His opinion does not change with that of the French people as a whole. On the contrary, in 1836 Chateaubriand retains his old admiration for Byron as a lyric poet, disregarding entirely the other part of his work, his « genuine voice ».

With the exception of a few remarks scattered through-

out the *Mémoires*, remarks that emphasize usually the points previously made and add nothing new, the *Essai sur la littérature anglaise* gives us a final word on the English authors in whom Chateaubriand has been interested since his youth. Our historian finds an opportunity to drag in his favorite book, Macpherson's *Ossian*, in the course of his treatment of « la langue bretonne sous la domination romaine » (*E. L. A.*, p. 23). He exposes once again the true authorship of *Ossian* but quotes from an imitation of it. The question of authorship seems to have made a profound impression on the French writer. It is needless to speak again of his interest in Smith's imitations of *Ossian*. His acquaintance with Shakespeare dates from a time later than that of his introduction to *Ossian*. His opinion of Shakespeare undergoes a change. The *Essai* proves Chateaubriand's fuller knowledge of the Englishman's life, age, and works. Longer study seems to have given him a deeper appreciation of the dramatist's works. He still, however, finds some faults of character portrayal and style, faults which he is now more loath to designate and more ready to excuse. The intervening years between 1809 and 1836 have also added much to the critic's knowledge of Milton. The last critique adds a detailed account of Milton's life, some idea of his political and social treatises, as well as of his historical writings. Chateaubriand now makes his reader aware of the many-sided talent of the blind poet. More than one third of his observations, though, still concern *Paradise Lost*, which he regards from a different angle. As the *Génie* is a thing of the past, so is the prime importance of the Christian character of *Paradise Lost*. Chateaubriand, the translator of *Paradise Lost*, writes numerous comments on the style of the English epic and objects to the obscure grammar, the involved and interminable sentences, the lack of care and logic. On the other hand, he, too, recognizes the unsurpassed beauty of expression and verse. The tempering influence of the years has les-

sened the critic's early horror of the greater number of details offensive to his taste. In 1836 Milton is for Chateaubriand the greatest English poet. Of *Paradise Lost*, his greatest and most sublime work, the part that concerns him most is the external form. Gray, our next English poet, is for the first time in Chateaubriand's works the subject of any extensive comment. Previous to 1836 his *Elegy* had been imitated and quoted. It continues to hold the chief place in the critic's attention, though almost as much attention is paid the *Ode on a distant view of Eaton*. The « rêverie » and melancholy of these poems constitute their greatest charm. To his earlier mention of Young, the other transitional poet, Chateaubriand adds one or two details which serve only to emphasize his previous conviction. Tenderness is lacking in Young's « génie » and this fact causes his poems to lack truth and naturalness. Nature adds nothing to the effect of his poems because their author either did not know or expressed poorly the sadness which delights in the sight of nature. The initial picture of the *Nights* is the one thing which charms Chateaubriand and makes a lasting impression on him. Thompson holds the same insignificant place as in the preceding works. He expresses his regret for the past in a different fashion from Gray. The quotation that follows bears the responsibility of making that difference clear. Beattie, of whom also Chateaubriand has been conscious before this, comes into the *Essai* in one of the « morceaux détachés de mes anciennes études ». Word for word Chateaubriand repeats the preceding impressions of the *Minstrel*, which center about « rêveries » and « idées mélancoliques ». Scott is, in the *Essai*, the same perverter of history and of the novel as he was called in the *Mémoires*. Chateaubriand finds fault with the way in which Scott portrays characters by stressing the exterior. Both these faults, as Chateaubriand considers them, are likewise characteristics of his critic, but apparently, unconscious ones.

The French writer does, however, appreciate the charm of the past in his contemporary's works and his easy style. Byron, the poet who represents English Romanticism for Chateaubriand, is by nature akin to his critic and for that reason, probably, intrigues him. Chateaubriand delights in enlarging upon the comparison between himself and his brilliant English contemporary which he had sketched in his *Mémoires* in 1822. His brooding and melancholy temperament and its expression in his works are the two things about Byron which always hold Chateaubriand's attention. As the latest expression of Chateaubriand's opinion on these writers, the *Essai sur la littérature anglaise* is important.

Its value, though, is questionable in some matters, at least, because of the author's faulty vision or lack of judgment. The absence of any estimate whatever of the worth of the *Canterbury Tales* and the presence of quotations and comments on the *Ploughman* and the *Court of Love*, poems incorrectly attributed to Chaucer, are examples. Milton, moreover, is ranked as a publicist with Siéyès and Mirabeau, inferior men. Shakespeare's comedies are, practically speaking, omitted from the discussion. Scott's deep love of Scotland and the Scotch is not even touched upon, nor is the satirical element, the truly significant element of Byron's works, noted. These are the most glaring cases of omission or of faulty judgment in the *Essai*. It may also be blamed for a lack of proportion. One sentence renders an account of Chaucer's whole life. On the other hand, about thirty pages of the *Essai* are concerned with the Reformation and Luther. Forty pages are devoted to Shakespeare and seventy to Milton and *Paradise Lost* out of a total of three hundred and twenty-five, not a surprisingly large proportion, for Chateaubriand says he wrote the *Essai* only for the sake of the appended *Paradis perdu*.

CONCLUSION

As Chateaubriand's chief interest lay in Milton and Ossian, one may well ask what advance he made over his predecessors and contemporaries in his understanding of these English writers. Throughout the eighteenth century Milton was known in France principally as the author of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. A number of religious epics were written in imitation of these two masterpieces, but none has survived through any intrinsic literary merit. Various attempts were made also to translate the English epics, none of which met with any great success except Louis Racine's. The moral purpose of this translation was so preponderant (1), however, that it caused him to make slight changes in the text, « pour l'ajuster à sa religion ». Though he admitted that pleasure could be derived from the poetry of Milton as well as from moral instruction, Louis Racine was always conscious of the latter. In short, this translation, as Grimm said (Telleen, p. 63), « peut être exacte, mais elle n'est pas française et malgré sa barbarie elle est sans génie ». Of those who preceded Chateaubriand we may say then with Telleen, p. 95-6, « on ne s'attacha qu'à ses [Milton's] idées générales et à ses peintures, tantôt pour se les assimiler, tantôt pour les transformer ».

Chateaubriand followed his predecessors in centering his attention on *Paradise Lost*. He did not, however,

1. « Racine poursuivait dans ses travaux un but moral et religieux ». Cf. Telleen, p. 60-61.

use his knowledge of *Paradise Lost* for any religious end. In fact, if we except Colardeau, whom we may pass over because of his inferiority to Chateaubriand, we may claim for the latter the honor of first separating Milton from his religious purpose. In his novels, surely, Chateaubriand had no desire to point a lesson or expound a religious truth ; and in the *Génie* his sole aim was to show the beauties of *Paradise Lost* as a poem inspired by the Christian religion. The subject of *Paradise Lost* serves Chateaubriand as a background only of *Les Natchez* and *Les Martyrs*. By thus subordinating the subject matter of *Paradise Lost*, Chateaubriand ignores its religious import, namely to

. assert eternal providence
And justify the ways of God to men. »

Failing to grasp the fundamental thought of *Paradise Lost* did not prevent Chateaubriand from appreciating the « peintures » of which his predecessors were aware. He was fully conscious of the beauty of the scenes, of the poetry, of the sublimity of expression of *Paradise Lost*. Evidence of this has been found in his *Génie du Christianisme* in the *Essai sur la littérature anglaise*, and in comments scattered through the *Mémoires*. His appreciation did not stop short at comment, but proceeded to an appropriation of some of these externals of Milton's epic.

To the question : « What did Chateaubriand take from Milton ? », we may answer, « not very much ». He did not take the subject of any of his works from Milton, nor did he carry over into his works any of Milton's philosophy. On the other hand, for both his novels he found a setting in the Christian « merveilleux » of *Paradise Lost* ; and took, in addition, a number of picturesque details, such as items of color and terms of brilliance. He chose certain apt comparisons, certain « mots propres » that suited his purpose well.

How has Chateaubriand made use of these various

borrowings ? A few only of the details and words he has put into his works unchanged. The same word, used in both epics, may qualify a more inclusive word in Chateaubriand than in Milton. Thus we come to a version of borrowed material, namely the transfer of it to other characters, to other places. Man, God's chief delight in *Paradise Lost*, becomes the saints' chief delight in *Les Martyrs*. At the close of *Paradise Lost*, moreover, in the angel's prophecy to Adam and Eve occurs the account of the future wanderings of the children of Israel led by a fiery pillar and a cloud. In Eudore's « récit » in *Les Martyrs*, the account is given of the past when the Christian legion is led in the same way. In connection with this prophecy and a « récit » of the same events, a change of place is made from Paradise to « mont Colzim ». In passing from one place to another, from one character to another, the borrowed material may attain a further development. Thus the high hill in hell on which Satan assembles his followers becomes in *Les Natchez* a rock of tremendous height on which Ondouré gathers the Indian tribes. Again, both these leaders resort to a pretext in summoning their adherents ; but the pretext differs.

From these slight changes we advance to a number of reminiscences which the author varies still more by adding to them from the resources of his own mind. To the unusual flowers of Paradise he adds in the heaven of *Les Martyrs* trees and streams which are in their beauty unknown to man. In Milton's hell, moreover, Satan promises to feed and fill his dreadful children ; but in Chateaubriand's *Les Martyrs* he adds his intention of avenging them. Apart from these examples, taken again from the setting, is one which has to do with the temple gates in Asia Minor. The hinges are of gold and silver, whereas the hinges of the gates of heaven are of gold alone. Still farther removed from its English source is such a detail as Lasthènes's praying for the robe of innocence which covered the first man and

woman. Finally we append an instance in which a mere suggestion of *Paradise Lost* appears in the French, namely the description of a night in Greece with its « ombres transparentes » (cf. above, p. 57), in which the original has been completely assimilated by the French author.

In a different manner, too, he has utilized his English source ; for he has substituted a specific term for the general one which appeared in *Paradise Lost*. Chateaubriand's love of the picturesque is evident, when the « color glorious » of Milton's heaven is fixed by Chateaubriand as « pourpre » in *Les Natchez*. The « fruitage fair to sight » that turns to ashes develops into a « citron doré » that Cymodocée plucks in the Jordan valley. Sometimes Chateaubriand adds the specific color where no color has been mentioned (Cf. « crête de pourpre » from « turret crest »). He also resorts to the reverse process, that is, making some generalization which covers a number of details in Milton. Thus, in enumerating the functions of the angels, instead of stating all the particulars, which use up fourteen lines of *Paradise Lost*, Chateaubriand says merely « règlent les mouvements des astres ». Again, the suggestion of three lines in *Paradise Lost* is crowded into the name of the « génie » who assumes Belial's character. Elsewhere he combines several passages from Milton. In describing heaven in *Les Martyrs* Chateaubriand makes use of three passages from *Paradise Lost*, taken from the second and third books. Again, he unites a passage from Book I with one from Book IV to demonstrate Satan's pity for the damned and his remorse for his part in putting them in hell. In conclusion, Chateaubriand uses but little of his English source unchanged. By far the greater amount of it he changes by transferring it to other characters or places, by adding to it, by particularizing it, by summing it up, combining it, or transforming it entirely.

It may have been remarked that none of the borrowed material that might have its source in the Bible as well

as in Milton has been mentioned up to this point. In each instance the possibility of the Biblical source has been noted and usually the chapter and book of the Bible have been specified. It should be noticed however that practically every one of these twenty cases deals with the « merveilleux » element of Chateaubriand's novels. Since that element had its origin in *Paradise Lost*, it is but natural to suppose that the twenty cases just mentioned also came from that poem.

The final manifestation of Chateaubriand's interest in *Paradise Lost*, particularly in its language and eloquent form, was the translation of it which appeared in 1836. The changes in the various versions of this translation show Chateaubriand's gradual liberation from the conventional form of expression of the eighteenth century and the subordination of his own personality to that of Milton. In this respect, as well as in exactness, which, he generally attains, he has surpassed his predecessor, Louis Racine. In spite of certain deficiencies of the *Paradis perdu* and of the adverse criticisms of MM. Boillot and Dick, we accept as a final word Telleen's statement (p.33) to the effect that « elle demeure la meilleure [traduction] qui soit en prose dans la langue française ».

Milton's *Paradise Lost* is to Chateaubriand a storehouse of images, a repertory of mythology. He, who wanted a literature inspired by Christianity, perhaps through Milton, came to a greater realization of the poetic beauty of the Bible.

Ossian's popularity in France before Chateaubriand's time was unrivalled by that of any other English author or book. Popular as he was with the masses, he was also well-loved by the individual « rêveur » and « solitaire » (cf. above, p. 103). Indeed so great was the vogue of Ossian that the literature, art, and music of the times showed traces of this foreign influence. In 1774 there appeared a translation of *Témora* by Maximilien-Henri, marquis de Saint-Simon. Because of their knowledge of his theories of exact translation,

the translator's contemporaries welcomed his work with keen interest. Unfortunately, it fell short of the mark, in that the author sought to find words that evoke images, in that he emphasized the movement and thereby exaggerated Ossian. To Saint-Simon, however, is due the credit of fixing in the minds of his readers the resemblance between the Bible and Ossian ; and « Ce sentiment très vif de la couleur locale, ce goût du barbare et du primitif, rend Saint-Simon, aujourd'hui encore, le plus intéressant à lire entre les anciens traducteurs » (*Cf.* Van Tieghem, I, p. 266). Le Tourneur, who published two years later the complete Ossian in French, spread the popularity of Ossian in France. Baour-Lormian, one of the more prominent imitators of Ossian, and a contemporary of Chateaubriand, also translated some of his works. By taking some parts of the original and changing others, he disregarded much of the essential and omitted typical repetitions and shades of meaning. Baour-Lormian recognized nature as an essential part of Ossian and therefore attempted to describe it in his verse ; but lacking the inspiration of Ossian, failed to produce the effect he desired. He was a classicist, who, realizing the growing popularity of the English works, and his own gift in verse-making, seized the opportunity to increase his fame and by his fluid and harmonious verse, won success for his imperfect translation.

Chateaubriand, in his translation of Smith, an imitator of Ossian, is like Baour-Lormian rather than Saint-Simon. His work, done in England, gives evidence of the youthfulness of its author, of his subjection to eighteenth century principles of literature, of his still imperfect knowledge of the language. It is usually a French summary of the original and, as such, omits characteristic repetitions, as Baour-Lormian did, omits obscure points, often omits comparisons, makes changes that are most frequently unfortunate, thereby losing the ruggedness and epic simplicity of the original.

Chateaubriand did not improve on his predecessors or on his contemporaries in his translation.

In his borrowing from Ossian, he follows them in stressing wild and rugged nature. He was better able than Saint-Simon or Baour-Lormian to interpret these characteristics of Ossian because of his innate love of nature and his ability to depict it. His novels about America and parts of his *Les Martyrs* abound in Ossianic mist, rocks, mountains, heaths, forests, lakes, and mountain streams. In their wildness the landscapes of Ossian are similar to those of uncivilized America and of ancient Gaul. The landscapes of *Les Natchez*, and *Les Martyrs*, like Ossian's, are peopled with « génies », who may or may not affect the destiny of man. The Celtic « génies » lend themselves well to the tales of primitive, nature-loving Indians and are an integral part of the Velléda episode of *Les Martyrs*. The ghost « génies » contribute not a little to the all-pervading melancholy of Ossian which is akin to the « mal du siècle » with which Chateaubriand and his younger contemporaries were afflicted. This spirit of gloom made itself evident in Chateaubriand's works externally in the attitude of the « rêveur » and otherwise by the concern of the various characters for tombs. The comments on Ossian which we find in Chateaubriand's works stress this melancholy and interest in death and the grave. Probably because of his own Celtic ancestry, of his nature and the circumstances of his life, Chateaubriand was the only one, of all his contemporaries and of all those interested in and influenced by Ossian who understood him thoroughly.

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ABBREVIATIONS

E. L. A., Essai sur la littérature anglaise.
Mart., Les Martyrs.
M. d'O-T., Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe.
N. E. D., New English Dictionary.
R. H. L., Revue d'Histoire Littéraire.

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